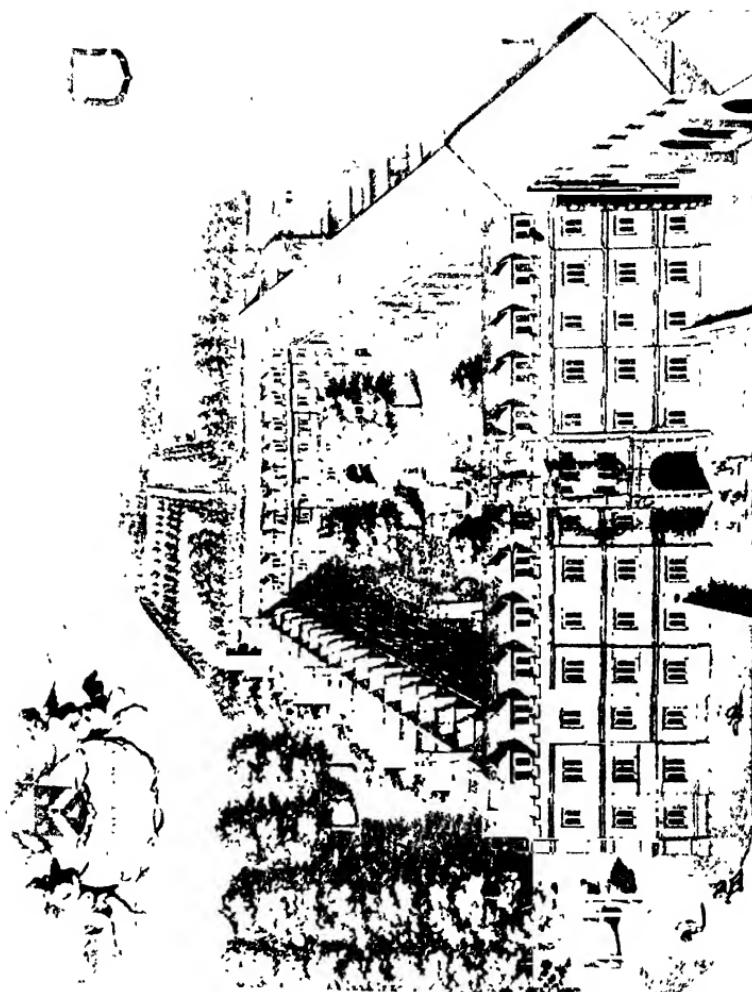


COLLEGE
HISTORIES
CAMBRIDGE

CLARE COLLEGE





VILLAS BY LOGGAN (1888)

University of Cambridge

COLLEGE HISTORIES

CLARE COLLEGE

BY

J. R. WARDALE, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF THE COLLEGE

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PREFACE

THIS little volume does not profess to give more than a sketch of our College history; an exhaustive treatment of the subject would entail further researches among old documents in the British Museum and elsewhere, which would necessarily postpone publication indefinitely, while the results, when obtained, could not be brought within the compass of the present series. At the same time it is hoped that nothing of material value has been here omitted.

Apart from the information to be derived from general works upon the history of the University, biographies of distinguished Cambridge men, &c., the manuscript volumes of Cole and Baker (in the British Museum and the University Library at Cambridge) contain many valuable details, which have been here incorporated, about our College and its members; more important, however, are the records preserved in the College itself, and, defective as they unfortunately are, they naturally form the groundwork of this history.

For the earlier period these records are exceedingly scanty; the disastrous fire in 1521 which destroyed the Master's Lodge and Muniment Room has left us only one

volume—the *old register*—written for the most part during the fifteenth century, and containing copies of licences, lists of bequests to the Society, notices of elections of Masters, Fellows, and Scholars, and the like. For the sixteenth century we have little beyond an old *lease-book*, which (as its name suggests) is not calculated to yield much entertainment, however valuable it may be for other purposes; it does, however, fortunately contain besides leases a few other items which may be of general interest. When we reach the middle of the seventeenth century our sources of information become much more numerous and fuller. Not only have we an unusually elaborate statement of accounts in connection with the new College buildings, as well as a number of loose papers on which are recorded the elections of Masters and Fellows, but, further, in the collection of letters preserved in the College Library we obtain a most interesting insight into the life of the Society and the character of its various members at that time. Numerous extracts from these letters have been made, and the publication of many more of them is highly desirable. Besides these, the record of admissions, with the notes appended to many of the names by Dr. Goddard, Master of the College from 1762 to 1781, enables us to give with certainty a list of the more conspicuous members of the College from 1681 onwards.

Lastly, from the successive College order-books we can supplement our narrative of the last two centuries in many important respects.

It is much to be regretted that so little trouble was

taken by our predecessors in early times to preserve an account of what took place in the College, and a record of its members. We have an imperfect list of elections of Masters, Fellows, and Scholars from 1448 to 1562, but after that date we have no further records of such elections till 1620, and then only in the case of elections to the Mastership ; no subsequent notes of elections to Fellowships have been preserved till 1631, and the list is exceedingly imperfect till after the Restoration. No record of admissions was kept before October 1631, and College orders only began to be systematically entered in a book in May 1712.

This neglect has rendered the task of writing the earlier portion of this history exceptionally difficult. Not only has the character of the collegiate life of those days to be gathered from stray hints here and there, but we are also frequently unable to say definitely whether particular persons, traditionally supposed to have been at Clare, were ever members of the College, or not. In view of the possibility of error in both of these respects, I have judged it safest to state as far as possible in each case the data upon which I have based my conclusions, and, except in a few instances, I have omitted altogether the names of those persons of whose connection with the College, however probable it may appear, we have at present no positive proof.

In conclusion, I must express my most sincere thanks to those who have helped me with notes in this undertaking, particularly the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, the Rev. W. O. Sutcliffe,

and Mr. J. R. Harris, as well as to the Rev. Canon Wordsworth and Mr. J. W. Clark for the use which they have courteously permitted me to make of their various publications; above all, my sincerest gratitude is due to the Master of Clare, not only for his generosity in placing at my disposal his compilation of the contents of our earliest documents, but also for the unwearied kindness with which he has helped me in many difficulties, and the care and patience with which he has revised my proof sheets for the press.

It is no exaggeration to say that without his assistance this history could never have been written.

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

October 1899.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE FOUNDING OF THE COLLEGE	I
II.	EARLY DAYS	12
III.	THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION	30
IV.	THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS	59
V.	IN PURITAN TIMES	98
VI.	THE COLLEGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	134
VII.	SOCIAL LIFE IN THE COLLEGE	165
VIII.	MODERN TIMES	198
	APPENDICES	211
	INDEX	215

ILLUSTRATIONS

VIEW BY LOGGAN (CIRC. 1688)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PORTRAIT OF LADY CLARE	<i>Facing page</i> 6
PRIDEAUX'S SKETCH OF THE OLD COLLEGE	60
CLARE COLLEGE FROM KING'S PADDOCK	66
THE COURT	82
THE CHAPEL	90
THE HALL	174
CLARE COLLEGE, WEST FRONT	202

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF THE COLLEGE

“ . . . and princely Clare.”—GRAY

CLARE COLLEGE, or Clare Hall, as it was until recently called, derives its name from the Lady Elizabeth de Clare, by whose interposition at a critical moment the earlier foundation of University Hall was rescued from an untimely end ; its history, however, is generally, and with justice, held to commence with the deed of foundation of the earlier Society. In either case it ranks as the oldest of our present Cambridge Colleges, with the single exception of Peterhouse.

By a royal licence granted at Barnwell upon February 20, 1326, the Chancellor and the University of Cambridge were empowered to found a “new College of Scholars,” and to make over to them for their dwelling two messuages belonging to the University in Mylne Street,* which had been acquired from Nigel de Thoredon, a physician.

In accordance with the permission thus obtained,

* Milne Street ran past Trinity Hall and Clare, through the grounds where King's College now stands, and so to the Mill. It may be observed that *Collegium* was used originally of the Society, and not (as now) of the buildings ; it means properly a *corporation*. The Chancellor was Richard de Badew ; he was a member of the knightly family of that name of Great Badew near Chelmsford, and devoted all his wealth to the advancement of learning.

the new College was founded, and the two messuages in question surrendered upon July 15, 1326, to the Master and Scholars. "Sixteen years," says Fuller, "did students continue in University Hall on their own charges," but for sixteen we should read ten, and we have indications that the students of the new Hall were not without their benefactors almost from the first. Upon March 27, 1327, King Edward III. granted a licence to the Master and Scholars of University Hall to acquire lands, tenements, rents, and advowsons of Churches, to the value of £40 per annum, and in the old Register of the College are copies of two deeds of presentation of properties, the beneficiaries, it would seem, being Fellows to whom the properties were conveyed in trust for the Society.

The first Master was Walter de Thaxted, but unless the original founder be also included, the name of the second holder of the office must have been lost; for Ralph Kerdyngton is spoken of as *third* Master in a note in the old College Register.

The buildings of University Hall had been, it is said, destroyed by a fire, and Richard de Badew, finding that the work of restoration was beyond his ability, determined to appeal to some patron of learning whose means were less limited than his own. Lady Elizabeth de Clare,* Lady de Burgh, to whom he applied, was a granddaughter of Edward I., and third sister and co-heiress of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, Gloucester, and Hertford. Her brother had fallen in the battle of Bannockburn, and by his death the family estates, the extent of which was proportionate to his titles, had

* See Appendix A.

passed to the Countess and her two sisters. Cole tells us that “one of y^e College who was a favourite of y^e Lady Elizabeth de Clare, Lady de Burgh, persuaded her to rebuild y^e College,” and whether we have to thank some unknown intermediary or not for her compliance with the petition she readily undertook the task ; the College was rebuilt and endowed by its new Foundress at her own expense, subsequently receiving from her the title of Clare Hall, a title only changed to that of Clare College as recently as 1856. She did not, however, wait for the formal surrender of the College into her hands before coming to its rescue. Upon March 12, 1336, Edward III., “desiring to confer a special favour on the Master and Scholars of University [Hall in] Cambridge,” granted to his “well-beloved cousin, Elizabeth de Burgo,” a licence to give and assign to the said Master and Scholars the advowson of the Church of Litlington in the County of Cambridge, and upon April 8th of the same year the deed of gift was signed by Lady Clare at Anglesea.

Upon April 6, 1338, Richard de Badew, as Founder and Patron of University Hall, surrendered to her his rights therein, and two years later (April 5, 1340) Walter de Thaxted, Master of the “House of the University in Cambridge” and the Scholars and Fellows, in consideration of her gift of the advowson of Litlington and her other kindnesses, made over to her and her heirs for ever the advowson of the House, without prejudice to its statutes and ordinances. Finally, upon March 28, 1346, Richard de Badew made a second complete surrender of all his rights and claims to the patronage in favour of the new Foundress,

but it is not clear upon what grounds this was thought requisite.

Upon June 15, 1346, Edward III. granted to Lady Clare a licence to bestow the advowsons of the Churches of Grantesden (Great Gransden) in Huntingdonshire and Dokesworth (Duxford) in Cambridgeshire upon the "Master and Scholars of Clare Hall in Cambridge," and in the same year (September 30) another licence was granted by the King to the Master and Scholars of Clare Hall to hold land to the value of £40 per annum. These licences show that the College was henceforward formally known as Clare Hall.

It is said to have received its new name by special licence from Edward III. in 1339, but there is no copy of any such licence among the College records, and Cooper tells us (*Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. i. p. 29) that he had never met with the instrument; the precise date must therefore be left uncertain.

It is probable that the living of Wrawby was also the gift of our Foundress, although no copy of the special licence has been preserved. The Bishop of Lincoln's ordinances for Great Gransden and Wrawby are dated 1354 and 1355 respectively, and that of the Bishop of Ely for Litlington 1338. This latter document is important, as we learn from it (what we should otherwise not have known) that University Hall was designed for a fixed number of *fifteen* scholars, although there were only ten at that time; and the surmise that benefactions were received by that society even before Lady Clare took it under her protection, is supported by the mention of provisions for augmenting this number if the *revenues* increased.

Lady Clare appears to have been a woman of singular enlightenment in a dark age. The preamble to the statutes which she gave to her College in 1359, the year before her death, is well worth quoting as illustrating the liberal views which she entertained of the proper scope and value of education. The following translation is offered for the benefit of those readers who would prefer to be saved the trouble of translating the original Latin, or whose fastidious taste would be shocked by its barbarisms :

“Experience, which is the universal Instructress, doth plainly teach us, that in every degree, ecclesiastical no less than civil, the knowledge of letters is of no mean value, which, although pursued by many in diverse sorts, is yet found in fuller perfection in an University (wherein general study* is seen to flourish); and, moreover, when it hath been found, it sendeth forth its students, who have tasted of its sweetness, fit and proper members in God’s Church and the State, to rise to diverse heights, according to the claim of their deserts. Desiring therefore, as being moved by this consideration, for the promotion of God’s service, and for the welfare and advancement of the State, to extend such knowledge, which hath now begun sadly to wane among men (a multitude thereof having been swept away by the ravages of the pestilence), in so far as God hath granted unto us, we have turned the eyes of our mind to the University of Cambridge in the diocese of Ely, wherein is an assembly of Students, and to a Hall therein, hitherto commonly called University Hall, which already existeth of our foundation, and which we would

* *Studium generale*: a curious use of the term, which appears generally to be used of the University itself, as a place of study open to all.

have to be called the House of Clare, and nothing else, for all time ; we have caused it to be increased in its revenues out of the wealth which God hath bestowed upon us and in the number of its students, that the precious pearl of knowledge found and moreover acquired by them through study and learning in the said University may not lie hid under a bushel, but may be spread further abroad and being spread abroad may give light to them that walk in the dark by-paths of ignorance ; and, to the end that the Scholars beforetime tarrying in our said House may under protection of a more solid peace and the blessing of harmony be enabled to devote themselves more freely to study, we have, with the advice of experienced persons, made certain statutes and ordinances below written to last for all time."

Her statutes are noteworthy inasmuch as they indicate a desire to restrict the benefits of her endowment in the main to the encouragement of education for its own sake, and not to provide means to equip the recipients for a professional career in law or medicine.

The main features are as follows :

The College was always to be governed by a Master, who was to be chosen by the Fellows.

The latter were to be twenty in number, including the Master, when the revenues were adequate to support so many.* Of this number six were to be in Priest's orders at the time of their admission, and were to be *more strictly* bound to the performance of divine service ; but a worthier candidate might be admitted notwithstanding

* Under the subsequent heading *de augmentatione sociorum*, it is directed that the number shall be at once raised to "not more than fifteen including the Master" ; the number was to be increased from fifteen to twenty, and from twenty upwards, as the revenues increased, a new Fellow being elected for every increase by £4 in the revenue.



PORTRAIT OF LADY CLARE

standing, upon his taking an oath that he would, when he could do so and a place was vacant, without delay undertake this duty.

The Master was required "with and by the consent and assent of the Fellows, or the more part of them," after discussion of the merits of the candidates, to choose and admit as Fellows such as he deemed the worthier of election on the score of *conversation, condition, morals, knowledge, poverty, and aptitude*, provided that they were legitimate and unmarried (*nullatenus uxorati*).

If in an election the votes were equally divided, the Master was to admit that one of the candidates whom he believed to be the better in point of learning and character. If the votes of the Fellows were so divided that no candidate was chosen by the more part, or a moiety of them, then the form of election was to be repeated, as often as needful, for a month; but if at the end of a month no election had been made, then the election for that time was to be left to the Master, in conjunction with two Fellows, chosen for the purpose by a majority of the Fellows, and the Master was without delay to admit a fit and proper person.

The Fellows, to be admitted, were to be students of Arts, especially Bachelors of Arts, or students of Civil or Canon law (within the limit prescribed below), any one in the University or elsewhere (*vel alibi*) being eligible; and no exception was to be made against such candidate on the score of "nationality";* other things,

* This word is perhaps used in the sense in which (I am told) it still is used in the Scotch Universities, to denote merely the *county* or *district* from which the candidate came; but *vel alibi* above seems to indicate an entire absence of all restriction in the choice.

however, being equal, a preference was reserved for candidates from the parishes of the churches belonging to the College.

Two students of law, one a student of Civil, the other a student of Canon law, might be chosen, provided that there were not any such already elected and still living in the College, and provided that they had not themselves taken the Doctor's degree. No Doctor, except a Doctor of Divinity, might be admitted, and then only in case there were none such already in the Society. Such Doctor, however, was to receive an additional stipend at the discretion of the Master and more part of the Fellows.

Three of the Fellows being Masters of Arts, if there should be so many, were to be *Regents*; but (provided that they had lectured for at least one year) they were entitled to retire in order of seniority, as new Fellows incepted in Arts and became eligible to take their place. The retiring lecturer was required to devote himself to some branch of study, such as his natural inclination and aptitude should seem to suggest.

He was not, however, at liberty to devote himself to Civil or Canon law or to medicine (*physica*), nor was any Fellow of the Society, who had not previously been a student of such subjects, to do so without a special licence from the Master, which was to be given only after examination in the presence of the more part of the Fellows and with and by their consent; there might at the same time be on the body two Civilians and one Canonist (and not more), and one student of medicine. All the Fellows were to prepare for the Degree of Bachelor, Master, or Doctor, as the case might be.

The Master was to receive 60*s.* a year for stipend, and the six Fellows in Priest's orders 20*s.*, as their duties would preclude them from sources of income open to the others. The Master and all the Fellows were entitled to livery, but such livery was not to be too dainty or expensive.

The Master was to assign rooms to the Fellows according to definite rules, two in each case sharing the same chamber; the best apartment was reserved for the exclusive occupation of the Master himself. The Fellows were to dine together, in order to promote harmony; the allowance for commons, except at the greater feasts of the Church, was not to exceed 12*d.* a week for each Fellow, and the several Fellows were directed to be careful not to be burdensome to the rest by inviting guests into the College on any account.

No person not a member of the College was to be permitted to stay within it except upon "clear, advantageous, and proper grounds," and unless he were able and willing to conform to the manners and studies of the place. Nor was any such person permitted to dwell with the Fellows without the express consent of the Master and Fellows or the more part of them.

The ordinances for servants (*servitores et ministri*) and for poor scholars (*pauperes scholares*) come under the same heading, and this and the provisions made in the case of the latter show that the condition of the *sizars* of those days was little removed from that of servants. They were, in short, boys who received their board, lodging, and education free, and were expected to make themselves useful in return for these advantages.

There were to be always ten *poor scholars*. "Docile,

proper, and respectable" youths were to be chosen, the poorest that could be found, with a preference for such as came from the parishes of which the Master and Fellows were Rectors. They were to live apart in a separate building, and to dine in a suitable manner at the second table. Their allowance per week for commons was not to exceed 7*d.* each. Every year at Michaelmas they were entitled to receive half a mark each for necessary clothing, and were all to be dressed alike. They might continue in the College, during their good behaviour, till the end of their twentieth year, but were then to quit it (if not deserving to be elected on the score of merit into a Fellowship), and the vacancy filled with all speed. Their education was to consist *in cantu, grammaticā, et dialecticā*—in singing, Latin grammar, and logic—and was to be provided at the cost of the College; lastly, "they were not to be sent frequently into the town by the Master or Fellows, which might give them an occasion for absenting themselves from their studies."

These statutes present two points of interest, upon which it will be well to remark before we proceed further.

In the first place, we must observe that the provisions made for the election of Fellows are defective; the possibility of a majority of the electors favouring one candidate, while the Master and a minority voted for another, is not here recognised. This gave rise to much subsequent disputing, the Master claiming in such cases that his concurrence in the choice of the new Fellow was necessary, a claim which would, if allowed, have reduced the election by the Fellows to a mere farce.

It will also be observed that these statutes imposed

no restrictions on the score of birthplace in the choice of Fellows.

This was changed in the next statutes (in 1551), and the number of Fellows to be elected from different parts of the kingdom was strictly defined, not more than half were to be elected from counties north of the Trent, and the others from the rest of England, and not more than two were to be elected from any one county.

Presumably experience had shown that there was a tendency for Fellowships to become concentrated in the hands of persons who came from the same county as the Master or some other prominent member of the Society. In May 1820, however, an interesting College order was passed :

“That the College seal be affixed to a petition to his Majesty that in all future elections of Fellows the clause inserted by the Visitors under the Authority of King Edward the VIth be omitted, and that in future the Society be directed by that part of the original statutes of Lady Clare which declares that no question is to be made of what nation the candidates are.”

This petition was granted by the King upon February 2, 1828.

CHAPTER II

EARLY DAYS

"And nameliche ther was a greet collegge
Men clepen the Soler-Halle at Cantebregge."—CHAUCER

Masters.—Ralph Kerdington, 1342–1359; Nicholas de Brunne, 1359–1371; John de Donewich, 1371–1392; John de Chateresse, 1392–1400; William Radwinter, 1400–1421; William Wymbyll, William Gull, 1421–1448; William Wilfleet, 1448–1455; John Millington, 1455–1466; Thomas Stoyll, 1466–1470; Richard Stubbs, 1470–1496; Gabriel Silvester, 1496–1506.*

THAT the name of its distinguished Foundress (a granddaughter, as we have seen, of Edward I.) secured an immediate reputation for our College may be fairly presumed, even if we do not accept the tradition current certainly by the middle of the seventeenth century (Fuller,† p. 86) that it is Clare to which Chaucer refers in the above quoted lines in *The Reve's Tale*. *Soler Hall* was supposed by Tyrwhitt to mean the hall with the *Solar*; but the applicability of the title to our

* The reader is warned that these dates are in several cases conjectural only. For example, we find Radwinter spoken of as *custos* in a document of April 1400 (Baker, MS. vol. ii. p. 155), but this does not necessarily imply that he was not master before that year. I have contented myself with traditional dates when I could obtain no definite evidence that they were erroneous.

† The quotations from Fuller are given as they occur* in the edition of Prickett and Wright.

College of that date is now incapable of proof, even if we could say positively what was meant by a *Solar*; the word appears to denote equally a balcony, a garret, and an upper-room generally. It is, however, not improbable (as Fuller suggests) that the epithet is only a perversion of the word *Scollar*.

In no case are we justified in assuming from these lines that Chaucer was himself educated at Clare. It seems probable that he was born in 1340, and if this be correct, there are at least half-a-dozen Colleges any one of which may equally well claim the honour of being his *alma mater*, always assuming that he was a Cambridge man, which is doubtful. But it must be remembered that it is in the highest degree unlikely that he was a *sizar*, and, if he were not, it is hardly probable that he would be admitted to reside in any College, such admissions being very rare in those days. We may safely assume that if he came to Cambridge at all he lived in one of the numerous hostels of those times.

Down to nearly the close of the fourteenth century we hear but little of our College; it is said that the buildings were again destroyed by fire in 1362, and restored by Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Gloucester; Cole, however, declares that this must be our Foundress, as there was no Duke of Gloucester then, and, as Lady Clare died in 1360, we may fairly regard this story as a mere repetition of the earlier one. Apart from this apocryphal incident we have nothing to record except a list of gifts to the Society.

We read of a donation of 10s. from Michael de Haynton (sometime Fellow, and Chancellor of the University in 1361), and another of 4 marks from

Henry Motelete, also a Fellow ; and books were given by John Batemane and Robert Spaldyng. The latter had been Fellow of University Hall, and had been subsequently ejected from Clare Hall in Kerdington's time for selling Borden's hostel (of which we shall have occasion to speak later on) ; he evidently bore no ill-will, however, for this treatment.

More important is a licence granted June 1, 1364, to John de Harlaton, John de Donewich, and Richard de Morden, to assign to the Society a messuage with 115 acres of land, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks of rent (*redditus*) in Great Gransden ; the latter gift was to be divided equally between the Fellows, who, as we learn incidentally, were then eleven in number, and were to receive half a mark each.

The Mastership of John de Donewich (1371-1392) brings us to the beginning of an important struggle between the University and the Bishop of Ely, as Bishop of the diocese, which was only terminated in 1430 by the famous Barnwell Process, which finally established the independence of the University of Episcopal jurisdiction. In the preliminary encounter John de Donewich played a leading and honourable part.

Dr. Donewich, Doctor of Decrees, appears to have been a man of character and influence in the University in his day. In 1362 he was chosen Chancellor by his partisans, in opposition to Michael de Causton, and the appointment was confirmed by Simon Langham,* Bishop of Ely ; but an appeal to Canterbury being made against him in the name of the University, the Bishop was inhibited from interfering on his behalf, on the ground that he had been chosen in violation of[†]

* By Barnet, according to Fuller (p. 112) ; Cooper corrects the statement ; Barnet did not become Bishop of Ely till 1366. †

the statutes. In 1371, however, and again in 1374 he was legitimately elected. On the occasion of his second election Thomas Arundel had recently succeeded to the see of Ely. Although the allegiance of the Chancellor to the Bishop of the diocese was claimed, the oath of obedience had frequently been neglected, at any rate by Bishop Barnet. Arundel, however, was not the man to permit any infringement of his prerogatives, and called upon the new Chancellor to take the customary oath. But in Donewich he found an adversary as resolute as himself; he neglected to appear in answer to the summons, and lodged an appeal with the Court of Arches. His witnesses, however, could only appeal to the usage of the last fifteen years; the Court decided in the Bishop's favour, and the jurisdiction of the see of Ely prevailed in the University during the time of Bishop Arundel. His successor, John Fordham, however, was a man of less firmness. In one instance at least he neglected to exact the oath, nor was it till 1430 that the point in dispute was finally settled. In that year Pope Martin V., in response to an appeal from the University, claiming exclusive ecclesiastical jurisdiction within its own body, referred the adjudication of the claim to the Prior of Barnwell and John Depyng, Canon of Lincoln, or one of them. The University was represented by four persons as its Proctors, and after a full hearing of the case the Prior of Barnwell pronounced his verdict in its favour.

Such was the famous Barnwell Process. The part played in the initial stages of the conflict by the Master of our College of the day justifies the stress which has been here laid upon it.

Besides being Master of Clare, Dr. Donewich was a

Canon of St. Paul's and Collector of the King's Tithes. He died in April 1392, and was succeeded by John de Chateresse.

A few months later a licence was granted by Richard II. (on June 9, 1392) to Ralph Berners, Thomas Walpole, and Richard Maysent, to convey to the Master and Scholars of Clare Hall five messuages in Cambridge.

Our next landmark is the year 1439, when the Society received a gift which, if it did not increase the revenues, must have at least temporarily enhanced its reputation in the University and the country at large.

The Rev. William Bingham, Rector of the Church of St. John Zachary in London, had recently, in view of the depressed state of education throughout the country, founded and built in Cambridge, where the ante-chapel of King's College now stands, a School for giving instruction in grammar. He now applied for a special licence to enable him or others to give lands and the like to the value of £50 per annum to the Master and Scholars of Clare Hall, for the perpetual maintenance of a chaplain and twenty-four Scholars in *God's House* (as his new foundation was called), since he proposed to place it under their control.

His petition is worth quoting in full:

“ Unto the Kyng our Soverain Lord

“ Besecheth ful mekely your poure Preest and continuell Bedeman William Byngham person of Seint John Zacharie of London, unto your Soverain grace to be remembred, how yat he hath diverse Tymes sued unto your Highnesse shewyng and de[cla]ryng by Bille how gretely ye Clergie of this youre Reaume, by the which all Wysdom, Konnyng, and Governaunce standeth, is like to

be empeired and febled, by the Defaute & Lak of Scole-maistres of Gramer, In so moche, yat as your seyd poure Besecher hath founde of late over the Est parte of the wey ledyng from Hampton to Coventre & so forth no ferther North yan Rypon LXX Scoles voide or mo yat werer occupied all at ones w'in L yeres passed, bicause yat yere is so grete scarstee of Maistres of Gramar whereof as now ben almost none, nor none mawen be hade in your Universitees over those yat nedes most ben occupied still there; Wherefore please it unto your most Soverain Highnesse and plenteous grace to considre how that for all liberall Sciences used in your seid Universitees certain Lyfode is ordeyned and endued, savyng onely for Gramer, the which is Rote and Grounde of all the seid other sciences, and thereupon graciously to graunte Licence to your forseid Besecher yat he may yeve w'outen Fyn or Fee [a] mansion ycalled Goddeshous, the which he hath made and edified in your Towne of Cambrigge for the free Herbidge of poure Scolers of Gramer, and also yat he and whatsomevere other psone or psones to yat well willed and disposed mowen yeve also w'outen Fyn and Fee, Lyfode, as Londes, Teñtes, Rentes, and Services such as is not holden of you immediately by Knyght Service, to y^e value of Lⁱⁱ by yere, or elles to suche yerely value as may please unto your gode Grace, unto the Maister and Scolers of Clare Hall in your Universitee of Cambrigge, and to yeir successors, and also to graunte Licence to the same Maister & Scolers and yeir successors for to resteyne w'outen Fyn and Fee y^e same Mansion, and the seid other Londes, Teñtes, Rentes, & Services and Advousons to y^e seid value after y^e Forme of a Cedule to this Bille annexed, to yntent yat y^e seid Maister & Scolers mowe fynde pp'etually in y^e forseid mansion ycalled Goddeshous XXIIII Scolers for to comense in Gramer, and a Preest to

governe yem for Reformacon of y^e seid Defaute, for y^e Love of God, and in y^e wey of charitee."

This licence was granted July 13, 1439. Two copies of it are preserved in our College archives. It is of considerable length, and mainly repeats the gist of the petition, so that we need not quote it.

God's House forms a link of connection between Clare and Christ's. In 1441 King Henry VI. had established the College in Cambridge which still commemorates in its name its royal foundation. The old court of King's College occupied the site of part of the present University library, just opposite Clare. Cole says that it was founded in the place where God's House, the Augustines hostel and the Church of St. Nicholas stood.

"But this," he goes on, "being not capacious enough for y^e beneficent soul of this good King, I might call him Saint, he, with y^e consent of William Bingham, Rector of St John Zacharies Church in London & founder of a small College or Hostle very near this of our Kings for a Proctor and 25 scholars to study y^e criticisms of Grammar in, and called it Bingham's Hostle, united them and enlarged them both by y^e addition of the Church of St John Zachary, belonging to Trinity Hall, and who had in lieu of it frō y^e king y^e church of St Edward y^e King in Cambridge."

It is clear that Cole in this passage treats "God's House" and "Bingham's hostel" as distinct buildings. In this he follows Fuller, and the confusion may perhaps be explained by supposing that Bingham's hostel was popularly known by its founder's name for the first few years of its existence, until it was *re-founded* by royal charter, in February 1442, as a College, under the name of the "Proctor and Scholars of God's Houſe."

It and the gardens attached to it clearly stood in the way of the King's design for the further extension of his College, and the promise of a better building induced Bingham to give a ready consent to its surrender. He obtained a new site for his scholars in St. Andrew's Street, where they continued to dwell under the same name as before.* In 1505 the College was re-founded under its present name of Christ's College, by Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and mother of Henry VII.

Gifts of plate, &c., from most of the Masters at this time are recorded :

Dr. Donewich gave two cups with covers, and twelve silver spoons.

John Chaterys (his successor) gave "a piece of silver gilt with arms on the base, and a cover with an eagle below."

William Radwinter gave ten marks to the Master's bursary to meet daily expenses, "that future Masters might not be too much troubled by having to go repeatedly to the common chest."

Dr. William Wymbyll also gave ten marks for the same purpose, besides a piece of silver with a cover, and two silver salt cellars.

* The old building was finally conveyed to King's College in 1446 (Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. i. p. lvii.). Among the old documents in our College is a copy of letters patent of 1539 reciting and confirming various licences of *mortmain*. Among the rest is one, granted May 20, 1446, to William Bingham, to found God's House as a college affiliated to Clare Hall. This shows that the connection was not severed by the removal to St. Andrew's Street, although it seems to have come to an end about three years later, when Bingham became Proctor of the new College (see Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 8). John Hurte, B.D., who was Proctor after Bingham, is doubtless to be identified with the John Hurte who was a Fellow of Clare about this time.

His bequests at his death sound very quaint to modern ears. Some of them seem nowadays beneath the dignity of a Master to give and of a Society to accept; but times are changed since then. He left ten marks, one plain piece of silver without a cover, six silver spoons, a breviary, a napkin and towel, a "coverlyd," a jug and basin, and two brass jars. The gifts of another benefactor, John Wace, may be fitly mentioned next to them, "one fedyrbede and two brass jars."

The reader may perhaps be amused by some of the articles mentioned in the list of *utensilia domus* of this date; the total value is estimated at £50 11*s.* 10*d.* The plate list contains twelve items:

Silver vessel like a bell with cover.

Piece of plate with arms and a cover, and an eagle below.

Piece of plate with cover and *fibula* on top.

Piece of plate of ancient shape with an image of St. Katharine below.

Piece of plate with cover and arms of Lady Clare on the *fibula*.*

Piece of plate with cover and arms of Lady Clare.

Three pieces of plate.

Silver goblet with cover, gilt outside.

Piece with an eagle on the top.

Two silver salt cellars.

Twenty-six silver spoons for daily use (*cotidiana*).

Black cup with silver foot.

Besides these there are ten or more cups of the material known as *murrha*.

Other articles are:

* For the plate which she left to the College see Appendix A.

Eight dyaper table-cloths.

Fourteen long dyaper, and four small plain, towels (*manitergia*).

One jug and two basins.

Six brass jars.

One dish (*patella*) ; four large dessert dishes (*magnae paropsides*) ; twenty-four common ditto ; thirty-six plates (*disci*), and thirty-six salt cellars.

Four beakers for wine.

Four movable tables in the hall, with four "trestelles" and two "dormantes," or fixed tables.

One "copeborde."

One chair for the Master (valued at 1*s.*).

Another chair for a visitor or person of quality (valued at 1*s.* 4*d.*).

Two long and three short benches.

Tapestry, &c.

The reader may smile at a list of worldly possessions which is at once so elegant and and so homely. The Fellows sat on benches, the Master only being distinguished by having a chair, although politeness demanded that there should be a second and superior chair in reserve, in case a stranger dined with them. The community had silver spoons for daily use, but could only boast one jug and two basins between them, with a certainly modest allowance in the way of linen and towels.

It would not be safe at any time to judge of the wealth of a College by the amount of plate which it possesses, and this remark is especially true of Clare in the period of which we are speaking. The revenues had recently fallen off materially, and in 1446 a licence was granted to acquire fresh lands, tenements, or

advowsons of churches, to the value of £40 a year. This document is valuable not merely because the licence is granted to “*William Gull, Master, and the Fellows,*” &c., and thereby enables us to rectify the statement that Gull was succeeded by Wilflete, as Master, in 1436, but because it gives us a glimpse into the College finances of the time. We learn from it that the revenues for the maintenance of a Master and nineteen Fellows, with ten *discipuli* (as contemplated by the statutes), had been rather more than £100 a year ; that such a number of students had always continued in the College as the finances would permit, and that many “notable clerks” had been members of the body ; that the net revenues, however, were now only £60 a year, and that there were sometimes eight and sometimes nine Fellows and only four sizars (*pueri discipuli*.)

Henry VI. followed up this licence by himself bestowing on the College (on July 14, 1446), two tenements in Chesterton (which are said in the deed of gift to be known as *Frankys* and *Lepers* respectively), and another tenement in the parish of St. Edward’s in Cambridge ; and it was doubtless part of a general design for restoring the prosperity of the College that he obtained from the Prior of Ely and restored to its former owners the hostel known as Borden’s hostel, to which we have already referred as lost in the days of Kerdington.

According to Parker (*scelētos Cantabrigiensis*) Richard III. also claimed the patronage of Clare, as being descended from its Foundress. “But if,” says Fuller*

* Fuller is perhaps in error in saying “when William Wilflete was Master.” Wilflete had resigned many years before : see, however, page 27 below.

(p. 86), "no better patron to this house than protector to his own nephews, his courtesy might well have been spared." Fuller discredits the assertion, and we may add that there is not the least reason to suppose that he deserves a place in the roll of our benefactors.

Four benefactors of about this date have next to be mentioned. The gifts are noteworthy, inasmuch as the Society agreed, in consideration of them, to celebrate exsequies *in the Chapel*, which shows that the College possessed such a building at this time.

Thus we find a note to the effect that William Sutton, who died in the year 1452, bestowed on the community of Clare Hall "a piece of silver with a cover, with his name written below on the foot," in consideration of which, and a gift of £20, the College agreed to celebrate his exsequies, &c., in the Chapel.

Again, on May 5, 1455, William Wilflect, Master, and the Fellows of Clare Hall agreed with John Bellers, gentleman, that the Priest who celebrated the requiem for the soul of the Foundress in the College Chapel should pray for the soul of Elizabeth Trevett and the welfare of John Bellers, &c.

About the same time we find an agreement to perform exsequies in the Chapel for Henry Sombere in return for a gift of "una aulura (aulaea ?) de Tapestreweke in iii peciis pro aula ejusdem Collegii;" and lastly, from the statement of accounts upon August 13, 1455, it appears that Robert Stubbeire had lent 100 marks to the College, but the debt was to be cancelled if the anniversary of the death of Sir W. Babyneton were observed for fifteen years in the College Chapel, and two Priests,

being Fellows of the College, prayed daily for his soul there during the same period. We learn from a copy of this agreement that Dr. Gull was still living in September 1455. He was Master till 1446, as we have seen, but he was soon afterwards succeeded by Wilfleet, who appears as Master in a document (quoted by Cole, MS. vol. xlii., p. 5), of August 1448.

Whatever the exact date of Wilfleet's election, he cannot have held the office long, as he resigned it in the summer of 1455, the Mastership having been vacant for a short time before August 13 of that year, when his successor was elected. Wilfleet was preferred to the Deanery of Stoke College, near Clare in Suffolk, and held the office of Seneschal to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.* He must have been a man of some importance, as he was Chancellor of the University three times after this—viz. in 1458, 1464, and again in 1466.

John Millington, Bachelor in Canon law, was elected to the Mastership, August 13, 1455, and we now begin to find ourselves on surer ground, as notices of the elections of Masters and Fellows from this date onwards have been preserved, although they are very incomplete.

The financial state of the College was now thoroughly looked into; it was highly unsatisfactory, although the appearance is found upon investigation to be worse than the reality, as two or three of the debts were merely the purchase money due for properties acquired by the College; in particular the Society owed Nicholas Wymbych 53 marks for the manor of "Iklyngton."

It is not quite easy to see how the debts are added up;

* Cole, MS. vol. xliv. p. 409.

but the total amount is calculated to be £194 2s. 6d.; the sums due to the College, on the other hand, amount to only £98 17s. 10d. This was a serious deficiency for those days; even subtracting the £52 13s. 4d. due for properties purchased, the Society must have been nearly half a year's revenue in debt. So seriously embarrassed had it been that we find that 12 marks were due to the "chest in the vestry" (*cista in vestiario*) for a "missale" that had been pledged. The late Master was one of the heaviest creditors, no less than £53, besides his last quarter's stipend (15s.), being due to him.

From a second list of sums, due upon October 1, 1462, it would seem that the Society had been even less successful than before in getting its rents paid. The total is now £131 4s. 4d., and consists as before mainly of rents due from tenants.

One item of interest occurs in a list of exceptional expenses during the year August 1455 to August 1456:

"Expenses incurred in procuring the favour of the Lord Protector, 10s."

It will be remembered that in the course of this year the Duke of York was (for the second time) appointed Protector in consequence of the temporary insanity of the King.

John Millington, Bachelor in Canon law, and Master of Clare, 1455-1466, has been often confused with his brother, William Millington, D.D., who was the first Provost of King's College. Fuller (p. 152) heads his list of Provosts with "William Millington, elected anno 1443, from Clare Hall, whither, after three

years, he was remanded for his factious endeavouring to prefer his countrymen of Yorkshire." This may be correct enough, as it is not improbable that both brothers were at the same College, although we have no record in our documents of William Millington, except as executor to his brother. Cole,* however, while repeating Fuller's statement, adds that he was afterwards Master of Clare Hall, where he died in May 1466, and was buried in that part of St. Edward's Church which is appropriated to Clare Hall, under a marble now undistinguished, with the inscription *Hic jacet Magister Willielmus Millington, Sacrae Puginae Professor.*

The fact that he was buried there perhaps supports the assertion that he was a member of our College, but the date must be an erroneous inference from the date of the appointment of John Millington's successor. John Millington accepted some "cure," of which we know nothing, and was succeeded as Master by Thomas Stoyll, D.D., upon May 3, 1466. There is no indication of the date of Millington's death in the College records; all that we find is a short notice that "at the departure of Mr. John Myllyngton to his cure he delivered £3 to the said Thomas [Stoyll] and after that the said Mr. John Myllyngton never returned," but it seems probable that Stoyll was not appointed until his predecessor's death. A puzzling entry in the College Register of about this date may be thought to imply that in the interval between Millington's quitting the College and the appointment of Stoyll, Wilflet temporarily resumed the Mastership;

* MS. vol. i. p. 116.

if this be a correct view, we have an explanation of Fuller's statement that Richard III. claimed the patronage of Clare Hall when Wilfleet was Master (see p. 22, footnote, above), as well as of the addition of the words *praefectus Aul. Clar.* to Wilfleet's name in the list of Chancellors.

Dr. Stoyll appears to have been one of the most energetic and capable of all the early Masters of the College. Not only did he greatly improve the College buildings, but he also built a new house at Duxford Rectory, two new buildings at Gransden Rectory, "one for malt (*brasium*), the other for sheep," and a "kilnhows and new garner" at Litlington. The College owed £44 to the late Master, John Millington. Stoyll paid £36 of this debt to his executor, William Millington, and obtained a remission of the remainder, and it was doubtless in part due to his influence that William Millington gave books to the College library and to the College itself "two new silver salt-cellars and a piece of plate which had belonged to his brother."

Besides this the list of properties in the possession of the College about 1486 shows that under his able management the estates had been very considerably augmented. Nor does he appear to have neglected the educational work of the College, in spite of his evident capacity for business, for it is recorded that he "chained several fine books in the library"—perhaps another instance of his discretion.

It is hard to believe that he was only Master of the College for four years; and it may well be regretted that he did not hold the office for a longer time.

No notice has been preserved in the College of the election of Richard Stubbs, Dr. Stoyll's successor in the Mastership. It is usually placed in 1470, but upon what grounds I do not know.

Beyond the notice of elections of Masters, Fellows, and Scholars (which covers the period from 1448 to 1562, and is of great value despite its imperfections) we have nothing more to record of the College or the Society, till we come to the election of Gabriel Silvester* to the Mastership upon June 12, 1496; and even of the ten years during which he held the office there is but little to be said. A list of books in the College library, notices of leases of different properties, and of the repair of the chancel of "Dukesworth," at a cost of £29 15s. 2d.—such are the meagre items that our predecessors thought fit to record.

In such a dearth of matter of interest we are grateful to them even for the notices that in 1500 Dr. Christopher Lofthouse, sometime Fellow, gave the College "a piece of plate silver-gilt with a cover and supported by three lions," as well as 20s. for division between the Master and Fellows; that Dr. John Ednam, also sometime Fellow, "gave to us of his pure liberality, to us I say and for the good of the house xii"; and that on September 20, 1505, another former Fellow, Mr. Ortteler, bestowed several books upon the College.

The reader will be weary of a period so barren in

* Gabriel Silvester had been elected a Fellow in 1489. In February 1506 he became a Prebend of Lichfield, and it must have been in consequence of this that he resigned the Mastership of Clare. He was succeeded as Prebend of Lichfield in 1512, and died in 1515. The inscription set up to his memory in Croydon Church is quoted by Cooper in his *Athenae Cantabrigienses*.

events, and bewildered with the uncertainty that hangs over so much that has hitherto been recorded. We will therefore hasten to conclude the present chapter and make a fresh start with a fresh century.

The next hundred years were destined to inaugurate a new era of religious freedom over half a continent; of this splendid revolt against the papal tyranny of the past we may fairly claim that, as far at least as our own land is concerned, a member of our College *pars magna fuit*. The name of Clare Hall was now to be carried throughout the length and breadth of England as the name of the College of the great Hugh Latimer.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

“ Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man ; we shall this day light such a candle, by God’s grace, in England as, I trust, shall never be put out.”—LATIMER.

Masters.—William Woderove, 1506-1514; Edmund Natures, 1514-1530; John Crayford, 1530-1539; Rowland Swynburne, 1539-1549; John Madew, 1549-1553; Rowland Swynburne, 1553-1557; Thomas Bayly, 1557-1560; Edward Leeds, 1560-1571; Thomas Byng, 1571-1599.

THE century which was so soon to see the University divided against itself over the new doctrines opened very quietly so far as Clare was concerned. But it was only the lull that precedes the storm. In no College of the University can the flames of religious faction have blazed more fiercely in the next generation than they did in Clare Hall.

Upon August 16, 1506, William Woderove succeeded Gabriel Silvester in the Mastership, being, as we are told, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He had been elected a Fellow on June 28, 1494, and was now a Bachelor of Divinity, but was created Doctor in that Faculty in the course of the next year. The occasion was an interesting one, and a brief account of it in Latin has been preserved in our College records. It may be translated as follows :

“ In the year of our Lord 1507 . . . there was a banquet in the Church of the Friars Minor, at which our illustrious King Henry VIIth was present, with his son Henry, Prince of Wales, the King’s mother, and other grandees of the Kingdom ; during these ceremonies, besides Doctors in other faculties, there were created twelve secular Doctors in Divinity, among them William Woderove, Warden (*Custos*) of the College of Clare ; he was *respondent* before the King, his *opponents* being Dr Fysher, D.D., Bishop of Rochester, and Chancellor of the University, Dr Blyth, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and other Masters of the same faculty.”

It may be surmised that the University was indebted to the recent foundation of Christ’s College by the Lady Margaret for the honour of this royal visit.

Dr. Woderove was succeeded as Master by Edmund Natures, B.D., who was elected upon October 20, 1514, and held office for some fifteen years. He then voluntarily resigned, and his successor, John Crayford, was appointed upon July 6, 1530.

During Natures’ Mastership an irreparable disaster overtook the College. Upon October 10, 1521, a fire broke out which consumed the Master’s lodge and the College treasury ; not only was the immediate destruction of the building and of other property a heavy misfortune to the Society, but the loss of almost all the old documents has for ever deprived us of what would doubtless have proved most valuable information about the College and the life of its inmates during the first two centuries of its existence.

This loss stimulated the Society to great exertions. Not only was the Master’s lodge rebuilt, but we read

also of the erection of other buildings as well, including a new Chapel, as we shall have occasion hereafter to relate in full.

But we must here digress from the domestic history of our own College to a movement which affected the whole nation. Into the causes and the progress of the Reformation in England this is not the place to enter; even the part played in it by the University as a whole is in great measure beyond the scope of a College history. But we must emphasise the fact that one of the leading spirits among the University Reformers was a member of our College, and that he was still residing in Clare Hall when he first commenced his great work. Hugh Latimer was the only, or only surviving, son of a yeoman living at Thureaston in Leicestershire. We learn from himself that his father's farm was a modest one, "of three or four pound by year at the uttermost," and that his father was "as diligent to teach him to shoot as to learn him any other thing." He appears to have been originally entered at Christ's College, but he was elected a Fellow of Clare,* while still an undergraduate, in 1510, and took his B.A. degree in 1511.

It must not be supposed that Latimer was the earliest of the Cambridge reformers; on the contrary, he was at first as ardent in his opposition to the movement as he afterwards showed himself zealous in its cause. He viewed the study of Greek (a recent innovation in the University) with dislike and suspicion; on one occasion he besought the young men in the sophister schools to

* In the College Register among the notices of elections of Fellows occurs; "1510, Feb. 2, *Hugh Latimer Quest.*"

study the school divines and not meddle with the Scripture itself ; and in 1524, when he proceeded to the B.D. degree, he launched out into a bitter attack upon the doctrines of Philip Melanchthon.

This was the turning point in his life. Thomas Bilney, of Trinity Hall, who deserves the credit of being the first of the reformers in Cambridge, upon hearing this discourse, sought him out, and of the conversation that ensued Latimer afterwards declared that he learnt more than in many years before. He was converted by Bilney, and became his close associate on “Heretics’ Hill,” as the place where they walked together was called.

His preaching attracted the attention of Dr. West, the Bishop of Ely. The latter came into St. Mary’s Church as he was beginning his sermon, whereupon he changed his discourse and preached upon Christ as an example for Bishops. After the conclusion of the sermon, West requested him to preach against Luther ; upon Latimer’s replying that he could not refute doctrines with which he was unacquainted, the reading of Luther’s books being forbidden—“Well, Mr. Latimer,” said the Bishop, “I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan ; you will repent this gear one day.” He was accordingly inhibited from preaching in the diocese of Ely or from any of the pulpits of the University, and was subsequently arraigned before Wolsey. The latter, however, treated him with courtesy, and declared that he would himself give him a licence to preach if the Bishop of Ely could not tolerate such doctrines.

In the meantime he preached at the Priory of the Augustinian Friars, placed at his disposal by the Prior Robert Barnes, who was also one of the reformers. The

Prior himself was a man of great zeal but little discretion. In 1525, upon Christmas Eve, while Latimer preached at the Priory, the Prior preached in his place at St. Edward's Church ; there he was liable to the jurisdiction of the University, and he was accordingly arraigned before Edmund Natures, Master of Clare, who was Vice-Chancellor at the time and conspicuous for his hostility to the reformers. Barnes was summoned before Wolsey, intimidated into a recantation and confined in a house of his order, from which he subsequently escaped to the continent. Bilney was also called upon to appear before Wolsey, and after much pressure was likewise induced to recant.

And now Latimer stepped forward as the champion of the cause. His blameless life and high character, his caustic oratory and practical tact, united to win many converts. His famous "sermons on the card" were preached at St. Edward's Church in December 1529. A feeble retort was attempted by the prior of the Dominicans, who preached a counter sermon upon *dice*, and Latimer was also violently attacked by some of the Fellows of St. John's College. The contest between them was only ended by a letter from Edward Foxe, Provost of King's College and Royal Almoner, to the Vice-Chancellor requiring him to stop the combatants. Accordingly the Vice-Chancellor summoned the Senate upon January 29, 1530, and commanded Latimer (*sub pena excommunicationis*) "to touche no suche thynges in the pulpet as hath ben in contraversy betwyxte youe and other, whearuppon contention hath ryson," and to be "cyrcumspecte and discrete" in his sermons. Similar orders were also enjoined upon his opponents.

Through Latimer's subsequent career, as chaplain to Anne Boleyn and Bishop of Worcester, it is unnecessary to follow him. The verdict of posterity upon the makers of history is usually a just one, and it has not erred in this case. He has always been regarded, and rightly, as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of all those devoted men who in those dark days sealed with their life-blood their testimony to the truth. Yet he was not a man of great intellectual powers or famous for his learning; rather indeed the reverse. Where, then, it may be asked, lay the secret of his influence? We answer that it lay in his *personality*. His homely wit, which often seems poor and commonplace to us, but which was exactly suited to the temper of those days, his manly earnestness, his tact in dealing with difficulties, and his courage in facing danger, combined to give him in the minds of his countrymen a supremacy over others, many of whom were his equals in piety, and some his superiors by far in intellectual attainments. The whole record of his life is a testimony to the power exerted by a strong character over the minds of mankind at large.

But we must now revert to less interesting topics and plunge once more into the humdrum of College life. We read in the old Lease Book of several gifts of land received by the Society during the Mastership of Natures, but one only of these need detain us here. By his will dated July 20, 1517, Dr. Henry Hornby, D.D., Master of Peterhouse, conveyed to trustees on behalf of our College certain lands and tenements in Caldecot and elsewhere, which the trustees were to transfer to the College as soon as a licence of mortmain could be procured.

There is little more to be said of Natures' Mastership. He was apparently a leader among the supporters of the old *régime*, and was Vice-Chancellor no less than five times during the fifteen years of his Mastership. It is significant that Foxe calls him "a rank enemy of Christ." He became Rector of Weston-Colville in 1517, and afterwards of Middleton-upon-Tees. His death took place in 1549. As executor of Sir William Finderne, he paid £40 from his estate to the College, to be applied to the building of certain chambers; beside this he gave lands in Newnham worth 12*s.* a year clear of all charges.

Before passing on to his successor, we may mention two or three of the more conspicuous members of the College during the first half of the sixteenth century.*

Henry Hornby, D.D., whose bequest to our College has been already mentioned, was a native of Lincolnshire. He was, it would seem, first a Fellow of Clare, subsequently a Fellow of Michaelhouse, and finally Master of Peterhouse, a post which he held from 1509 to 1517. He was one of the executors of the will of the Countess of Richmond, and it was in great measure his energy which overcame the obstacles in the way of the foundation of St. John's College.

Henry Joliffe was, like Dr. Hornby, a Fellow first of Clare and subsequently of Michaelhouse. He became Dean of Bristol in 1554, but on the accession of Elizabeth he was deprived of his preferments, retired to Louvain, and died abroad.

Lancelot Ridley, D.D., was perhaps a cousin of the Bishop of London; he was a reformer and was appointed

* These biographical notices are mainly derived from Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, as are also the others in this chapter.

one of the six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral in 1541; but it is said that he conformed to the change of religion under Mary; at any rate he escaped his cousin's fate, and died a natural death in 1576.

Dr. John Crayford, as we have seen, became Master in succession to Natures in 1530. He was originally a Fellow of Queens' College and had subsequently been incorporated at Oxford; he was now chosen Master of Clare. In 1534 he was made a Canon of St. Asaph's, and in 1539 was appointed a Prebendary of St. Paul's. In the same year he was chosen a Fellow of University College, Oxford, and vacated the Mastership of Clare. He became Master of University College in 1546, and died the year following.

During his tenure of the Mastership of Clare he was twice Vice-Chancellor—in 1534–5 and again in 1535–6. He was a man of an overbearing temper, and it was apparently this quality which caused the ordinary rule that no one could be elected Vice-Chancellor who had not taken his Doctor's degree to be disregarded in his case. It was during his tenure of the office that the system of teaching in the University was entirely re-organised, as we shall see in a later chapter, and Fuller (p. 215) suggests that he was “chosen of purpose with his rough spirit to bustle through much opposition.” Caius (in his *Antiquities of the University of Cambridge*) says of him that he was “a better gladiator than Vice-Chancellor”; on one occasion, when a disturbance was made, he cut off one man's hand, and seized and flung another out of the Regent-house! This was not however an unique instance of a Vice-Chancellor repelling violence by violence. Fuller (p. 250) tells a

similar story of Doctor Sandys when Vice-Chancellor a few years later :

“ In cometh one Master Mitch, with a rabble of some twenty papists, some endeavouring to pluck him from the chair, others the chair from him, all using railing words, and violent actions. The Doctor, being a man of metal, groped for his dagger, and probably had dispatched some of them, had not Doctor Bill, and Doctor Blythe, by their prayers and entreaties, persuaded him to patience.”

The only other incident of interest recorded of Crayford's Mastership is connected with the building of the new Chapel. Towards this object Mr. William Spicer, parson of Clopton, contributed a gift of £95, or, as elsewhere stated, £100. The old Lease Book of the College contains a copy of the agreement entered into by the College in consequence of this gift, some of the conditions of which are curious. The agreement is between the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall, the Master and Fellows of “ Saynte Kateryne's Hall,” and Mr. Spicer.

The Master and Fellows of Clare Hall, besides the usual prayers, covenant to “ fynde a lampe brynnynge daily for ever in the Chaple of Clare Hall afore Saynte Kateryne there from seven of the cloke in y^e mornynge till yt be ten of the cloke afore none.” The Master of “ Katheryn ” Hall was to say Mass quarterly in Clare Hall Chapel and to receive eightpence each time.

Following this covenant is an indenture between (1) the “ Right Rev. Father in God, Steaphyn Garner, by God's sufferance Bysshope of Winchester and Master or Keper of the Colledge or Hall called Trynytye Hall ” and

the Fellows of Trinity Hall, (2) the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall, (3) William Spicer, and the Master and Fellows of "St. Kateryne's" Hall. It appears from this indenture that William Spicer had given £83 6s. 8d. to Trinity Hall to purchase land for the maintenance of a scholar. The Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall were to "suffer the scholar wekely to go into the Chappell of Clare Hall and there to praye for y^e well fayre" of the donor.

After the resignation of Dr. Crayford, Rowland Swynburne, M.A., was elected to the Mastership September 23, 1539.

The most important events of his first tenure of the Mastership are the purchase of the benefice of Everton, and the circumstances of his expulsion.

The rectory of Everton had originally belonged to the monastery of St. Neots, and at the dissolution of the monasteries it was purchased by the Society of Clare, in 1544, for the sum of £144. In the old Register occurs the following brief notice of this purchase :

"Anno Regis Henrici Octavi XXXVI the Colege dyd by the benefice off Everton wythe the patronage off the Vicarage off the saym and to thys purchas Maister Water Worlyche dyd gyve XL^l sterlynge for whom wee keepe a diryge on Sainct Marks even her in the hous and iii sermons at Potton."

The agreement between the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall and Walter Worlyche of Potton, gentleman, is dated September 10, 1543. It presents no special features of interest, beyond the stipulations that 6s. 8d. should be annually distributed "amonge y^e prestes

and clerkes & y^e pore indygent people of y^e said parysse (Potton)" present at the *placebo*, &c., upon St. Anne's eve and St. Anne's day, and that the Master and each Fellow present at the "dirige," &c., in the College Chapel, should receive xiid.

More interesting are the circumstances of Rowland Swynburne's ejection from the Mastership.

In November 1548,* the King deputed Commissioners, among them Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, and Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, to visit the University. Among the objects of the Commission was one that affected the very existence of our College. The study of Civil law had, it appears, declined greatly and the Commissioners were directed to dissolve two or more existing Colleges and to found on their site or elsewhere a College to be devoted exclusively to this study; the lands, tenements, &c., of the existing Colleges were to be bestowed upon the new foundation, and the Masters, Fellows and Scholars of the dissolved Colleges to be pensioned.

The two Colleges which it was proposed to unite were Clare and Trinity Hall. The Commissioners commenced their duties the following May and visited Clare on the 15th and again on the 16th of that month.

Great opposition to the proposed change was there met with, and Ridley, who had not been informed of the scheme before the visitation commenced, declined to insist upon the submission of the Society. For this the Duke of Somerset wrote to him to remonstrate, and the Bishop replying that he could not for 'conscience'

* Cooper, *Annals*, ii., pp. 23-36.

sake proceed after two days spent in vainly trying to persuade the Master and Fellows voluntarily to surrender their College, the Lord Protector in his answer pointed out that Divinity could have no cause of complaint if law students were restricted to the combined College, inasmuch as the Fellowships at present held by law students in the other Colleges of the University more than outnumbered the Fellowships at Clare.

Fuller (p. 242) declares that Somerset (in letters which he had himself seen) solicited Stephen Gardiner, Master of Trinity Hall, to "resign his place and the whole hall into the King's disposal"; that Gardiner "civily declined his consent to the motion," and so the design was "blasted and never more mentioned," but Gardiner "for crossing the Protector herein (and other misdemeanours) soon after was ousted of his Mastership of Trinity Hall."

The letter of the Protector to Ridley, however (Cooper, *Annals*, ii. pp. 35, 36), refers expressly to the obstinacy of the *Master and Fellows of Clare Hall*, and the scheme (although it never came to anything in the end) was not yet abandoned in 1551. We can well understand, and admire, the attitude of the Fellows of Clare; that a foundation which had had an honourable and independent career for more than two centuries should sacrifice its individuality, and be absorbed in a College which was distinctively designed to further a special branch of study, must naturally have appeared to them to be a surrender of their inheritance; and we shall be able to enter more fully into their feelings on the subject when we remember that one of the most distinguished Bishops of the day had been educated among

them. Indeed, it is strange that we hear nothing of Latimer's views upon the proposed incorporation; we can hardly suppose that he was indifferent upon a matter thus vitally affecting the Society of which he had been so prominent a member. Ridley, however, in his protest against the plan, begged that it might be abandoned out of consideration for Latimer; quaintly urging that Alexander had spared a city for Horner's sake, and that Latimer "far passed by that poete."*

We read that the Commissioners again revisited Clare on June 17,† upon which occasion they expelled Rowland Swynburne the Master and (Thomas) Pulley, B.D., one of the Fellows; and we cannot be wrong in associating this expulsion with the contumacy shown so recently by the Society, although we have no proof that Pulley was more vehement than the rest in resisting the King's will.

This was one of the earliest instances of Crown interference in College appointments; many subsequent instances occur down to the revolution of 1688-89. The interference of James II. was, in particular, greatly resented, and must have alienated from him the sympathies of a most influential section of his subjects.

The reader will remark that Swynburne was ejected in 1549, and not, as sometimes asserted, in 1546; this statement may be confirmed by citing the College Lease

* Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 136.

† Dr. Lamb (*Documents, &c.*, p. 23), "xvii Junii—The Munday at XII of the clocke thei wente unto Clare Hall and there sate untyll it was past V of the clocke and expulsed both the Mr. Rolande Swynbourne and Mr. Pulley one of the Felows and Bachelor of Dyvynyte. And so wente every man home unto his supper." Cole, MS., vol. ii. p. 3, says: "However this was y^e occa-
sion of y^e expulsion of y^e Master Roland Swinbourn . . . and of one
of y^e Fellows of y^e College."

Book, from which we find that he was Master till nearly the end * of 1548 at least.

We learn from the quotation in Cooper's *Annals* that Swynburne, despite his deprivation, still kept possession of the Mastership. Dr. John Madew, however, who had been appointed in his place, would not forego his claim. An appeal to the King and Council led to the issue on April 8, 1552, of a Commission to the Masters of Corpus, Trinity Hall, St. John's, and Peterhouse, or two, or three, of them, to determine the dispute between the two. This was done, and the adjudicators gave their verdict in favour of Madew.

John Madew, who thus became Master upon Swynburne's ejection, only retained the post for some four years, being replaced by his predecessor upon the accession of Mary, on the ground that he was *married*. He was, however, reconciled to the Church of Rome in 1555, but died the following year at Magdalene College in great destitution. He would have even been (it is said) denied Christian burial had not the Bishop of Lincoln, of which Cathedral he had been a Prebend, testified to his absolution.

Rowland Swynburne was restored to the Mastership by virtue of letters from Stephen Gardiner upon October 26, 1553, but he lived less than four years to enjoy his return to prosperity. He died probably in August or September 1557, being succeeded in the Mastership by Thomas Bayly on the 20th of the latter month. His will† was dated December 16, 1556, and was proved in November 1557.

.* The last lease which he signed as Master, at this time, is dated Nov. 15, 1548. *

† Lamb (*Documents, &c.*, p. 183) and the compiler of the list of *graduati Cantabrigienses* are wrong in saying that he was again ejected.

During Swynburne's first tenure of the Mastership the College had received, as we have seen, a valuable gift from Walter Worlyche, of Potton, in Bedfordshire. A still more valuable gift was received from his widow, Elizabeth Worlyche, after Swynburne's restoration.

Besides his gift towards the purchase of the living of Everton, Walter Worlyche by his will dated February 4, 1549, had given to the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall the reversion, after his widow's death, of a house at Everton.* Shortly after this his widow, Elizabeth Worlyche, purchased four messuages in Chalsterne, in the parish of Roxton, Beds., with about thirty-five acres of land, which she presented to the College upon March 1, 1555, the Master and Fellows covenanting "that they will yearly for ever (yf they so long enjoy the premyses) kepe in theyr sayde Colledge one Scholer. . . . and allow him eyght pence by the weke for hys commons & gyve hym yearly . . . syx shyllinges and eyght-pence for hys lyverye, untill ye sayde Scholer hath accomplayshed y^e age of foure & twentye yeares." A preference was to be given to candidates from Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire, and the foundress's religious opinions appear in the proviso, "if an heretyke he is to be put out."†

* *Old Lease Book*, pp. 149, 162 164. It may be worth noting that the will specifies that the house should pass to the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall for the term of "fourscore yeares and for ever after that in case the Master and Fellows of the seid College do then continewe in corporation"; otherwise it was to go to Francis Taufeld, Esq., and to his heirs for ever. These singular terms are doubtless to be explained by the proposed dissolution of Clare for the foundation of a Law College.

† Baker (MS. vol. vi. p. 109) says that Walter Worlydge and Elizabeth his widow founded *three* "discipulatus."

These covenants are of importance, as this is the first instance in the history of our College of the foundation of *special* scholarships by a benefactor, previous benefactors having been content to leave lands and the like for the general good of the original foundation.

In 1558 she conveyed to the Society other lands and tenements in Gamlingay, but it does not appear that she attached any conditions to this gift.

Swynburne duly subscribed to the Roman Catholic articles in 1555; yet this did not save him from suspicion and censure when Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's Legate, in 1556 deputed Nicholas Ormanet (or Ormaneto) with others to visit the University and root out heresy there. The visitors came to Clare upon January 28, 1557, and the following account * of the proceedings gives us a good idea of the overbearing tone assumed by the representatives of Papal authority in those days.

“ When they came into Clare hall, & entered into the Chappell (whiche was the ordinarie custom to do first of all wheresoever they became) they perceyved there was no sacrament (as they cal it) hanging over the alter. The which thing being taken in great displeasure, Ormanet calling to him the maister of the house, tolde him what a great wyckednesse he had by so doing brought upon himselfe and all his house. For although he were so unwyse to thynke it no shame at all, yet unto them it seemed an inexpiable. The old man being amased, and lookinge about him howe he myghte aunswere the matter, while he went about to pourge himselfe therof, made the faulte double ; He sayde it was a prophane place, never as yet

* Quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 121.

hallowed nor consecrated with any ceremonies. At that worde, the Commissioners were yet more astonished, demaundeng whether he himselfe or anye other had used to syng masse there or no. When he had confessed that both he himselfe, and others also, had oftentimes said masse there : O thou wretched olde man (quod Ormanet) thou hast cast both thyselfe and them in daunger of the grevous sentence of Excommunication. Ormanet, being sore moved at the beginning serched the man narrowly : howe manye benefices he had, wher they lay, by whose favoure or licence he helde so many at ones, what excuse he had to be so farre, and so long from them : for as it shoulde seeme he spente the most parte of the yeare in the univer- sitie, farre from the charge that he had taken upon him. Swineborne was so sore astonished at this so sodaine disquietnesse of Ormanet, that being more disquieted himself, he was not able to answer one worde, neyther to these thinges, nor to anye other thinges appertayning to the state of his house. Wherfore one of the fellows of the house, that was senior to all y^e rest, was faine to take upon him the maisters turne in that businesse."

The poor old man did not long survive these scathing censures ; he died, as we have seen, in the course of the following summer or in the early autumn. In a letter addressed November 21, 1557 (shortly after his death), by Cardinal Pole to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, it is directed, among other things, that

" the Vice-chauncellor, associated with other grave and wise Maisters of Colleges, do visite in our name, especially Clarehall, and se what disorder hathe bin in that house, what alienacion hathe been made of the plate, and other things perteyning to the house, and so to use such refor-

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION 47

mations therein as shalbe thought convenient according to justice and the statutes of the said house. . . .”*

This allusion to alienation of plate is explained by the notes which Baker found on “a loose sheet of paper and a half sheet” and most fortunately for us thought fit to transcribe into his MS. (vol. ii. p. 161).

We have already referred to the honourable resistance offered by the Master and Fellows of Clare to the King’s wishes in 1549. Their conduct in another particular, however, was not equally admirable, as the notes preserved by Baker will show :

“ When y^t was thought that not onely y^e Fundation & Statutes of Clare-Halle should be alter’d, but also the Master & Fellows thereof displaced contrary to equitye and consciens, ther was a dyvision of plate made by the s^d Master & Fellows, whose names hereafter followeth.

“ Rowland Swynborne Master / Edm : Anlebye, Will : Archer, Tho : Poley, John Hopper, Edw : Barker, Chrys-tofer Carlyell, Rob : Thompson, Thomas Heskynes, Rob : Cootes, Jo : Jonson, Thomas Bayly, Fellows.

“ The Master hadde all y^t remaind in his keepynge, the w^{ch} ys nowe restored agayne by his executors.

“ The Fellows hadde for everyone of theyr parts (as yt ys thought) about y^e value of 10^{lb}: / Mr Anlebye hath put in a byll for y^e payment of 10^{lb}: he is minded to give 20^{lb}: / Mr Barker hath payd 10^{lb}: / Mr Hopper hath gyven a chalyce w^{ch} was y^e s^d Colledges weyinge 18 unc: & a parcell gilt. Mr Heskynes hathe put in a Byll for y^e pay-
ment of 10^{lb}: he hath payd of yt in Plate 5^{lb} : / Mr Carlyell hath put in a Byll for y^e payment of 8^{lb} : / Mr Thompson hath put in another of 6^{lb} : / Mr Jonson another of 6^{lb} : /

* Quoted by Lamb (*Documents, &c.*, p. 274).

Mr Bayly another of 8^{lb} : y^e w^{ch} he is content to make 10^{lb} /.

“ All thes Bylles was made by order taken by the commissioners appoynted for that purpose, in Kynge Edwardes tyme. . . .”

From this we learn that the Master and Fellows were at once called upon by King Edward's Commissioners to replace the silver appropriated ; but that some at least of them had not yet done so when Swynburne died in 1557.

It is interesting to note that Swynburne's executors restored the plate, which he had appropriated, *three days after* Cardinal Pole's letter was written. The old Lease Book of the College contains a copy of an acknowledgment (November 24, 1557) on the part of Thomas Baylye (Master) and the Fellows of Clare Hall of the receipt from Rowland Swynburne's executors of

“ one standinge cup gylte with the cover gylte one bowle of sylver parcell gylte with the cover parcell gylte and VII spounes of sylver percell gylte which sayde parcells of playte sometyme were belonginge to the said College,” together with “ one nutt garnished with sylver gylte and ten poundes of lawfull money of England to us geven and bequythed by the testament and laste wyll of the saide Rowland.”

It may perhaps be worth adding that Baker has preserved the forms of protest signed by nine of the Fellows against the proposed dissolution of the College ; some of them differ considerably in their purport and they are differently worded in almost every case. John

Hopper will depart before, if it please the king to dissolve Clare Hall, and Christofer Carlel expresses himself in much the same way; three Fellows (Edward Barker and two whose names are said to be blotted out) protest in much the same words that on their conscience they cannot consent. Thomas Heskyns, William Archer, and Robert Coots are content to give place to the king's authority though their consent is not agreeable. Robert Thompson is alone in being content "so that it be not prejudicall to this College, and that I doe not consent to go from the Collige." Presumably he was the occupant of what was called the *law-place* in the Society.

Of the College under Thomas Bayly we know little; and we may therefore here give our readers such information as can be obtained of the chequered career of Bayly himself.

He was a native of Yorkshire, and was in his sixteenth year when he was entered at Clare as a scholar on June 3, 1543. After taking his B.A. degree in due course he was elected to a Fellowship. It has been already mentioned that the Master and one of the Fellows were ejected by the Royal Commissioners in 1549. A note in the old Register of the College makes it highly probable that Bayly also shared their fate, although no definite mention of his expulsion has been preserved. Upon December 16, 1553, Thomas Bayly, M.A., Thomas Jeffrey, M.A., and Thomas Chapman, B.A., were elected Fellows, and the note adds "*electi erant iterum in societatem.*"* In 1554 Bayly was

* I cannot account for this note in the case of Jeffrey and Chapman: they were not Fellows in 1549, and we have no record of any election of them as Fellows prior to this in 1553.

Proctor, and in 1555 he subscribed the Roman Catholic articles. Upon the accession of Elizabeth a change in the Mastership took place in several of the Cambridge Colleges, and in Clare among the number. Some time was, however, allowed the holders to determine whether they would accept the new order or not, and accordingly we find that Bayly did not quit the Mastership till 1560. The exact date we cannot determine; but that it was during the summer of this year is rendered certain by the fact that the last document which he signed as Master is dated May 14, 1560, and upon October 12, 1560, Dr. Leeds, as his successor, signed an acquittance in respect of all debts or claims upon him on the part of the College.

On quitting Cambridge he withdrew first to Louvain, where he was created D.D.; sixteen years later, viz.; in 1576, he was invited by Dr. Allen to Douay, and employed by him in the government both at Douay and Rheims of the English College, of which he usually acted as President in Dr. Allen's absence. On January 27, 1589, he left Rheims and returned to Douay, where he died October 7, 1591.

The College at Douay was directed by a triumvirate consisting of Dr. Allen, Dr. Bayly, and Dr. Bristow, under which it prospered greatly. Dr. Bayly undertook the temporalities, and was highly successful in the discharge of his duties. He appears to have commanded universal esteem, and his death was deeply lamented.

Here we may pause to mention a few of the more prominent members of Clare in the middle of this century:

William Barker was Prebend of Hereford, 1547--1555, and is perhaps to be identified with the Headmaster of Eton of that name.

Henry Barrow matriculated as a Fellow-Commoner in 1566, and entered Gray's Inn in 1576. At first a gamester and profligate, he subsequently became the leader of a religious sect, who called themselves *Barrowists* after him. He was executed in 1593 for libelling the Queen and the Government.

Christopher Carlell (already mentioned) was elected a Fellow of the College on the same day as *Thomas Heskyns*. He was a good Hebraist, and, among other works, translated the Psalms of David into English.

The well-known *Thomas Cartwright* was originally a member of Clare. He was admitted as a sizar in November 1547, but migrated three years later to St. John's College. As his connection with Clare apparently ceased then, we need say no more of him here.

William Clerke,* originally of Peterhouse, subsequently a Fellow of Caius College, was admitted, on his ejection from Caius, as a Fellow of Clare. He held the post of Regius Professor of Civil Law from 1563 to about 1570.

Thomas Heskyns (already mentioned) was admitted Fellow upon October 29, 1539. He was an ardent Roman Catholic, and was perhaps removed from his Fellowship in 1549, two days after the Master and Pulley were ejected, but the quotation in Cooper (*Annals*, ii. p. 29) is indecisive; we read that on June 19, 1549, ten or eleven of Clare Hall came before the

* Apparently the "Mr. Clarke" in Baker's list (vol. vi. p. 109) of Fellows under Dr. Leeds.

Visitors at Christ's College "for the purgation of Mr. Heskyns." In 1559 he refused to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy and retired to Flanders.

Nicholas Heath was elected a Fellow upon April 9, 1524. In 1540 he became Bishop of Rochester and in 1543 he succeeded Latimer at Worcester. He was deprived of his see by Edward VI., but was restored by Mary, who advanced him two years later to the Archbishopric of York, and made him Lord Chancellor in 1556. It is melancholy to have to add that in this capacity he was compelled to issue the writ for the execution of his old friend and early patron, Cranmer. Upon Mary's death he rendered a valuable service to Elizabeth by announcing her accession as Queen in the House of Lords, a service which she never forgot, for, although he was deprived of his offices and confined in the Tower for refusing to take the oath required by the Act of Supremacy, he was before long set at liberty, and the Queen on several occasions visited him in his private house at Cobham. He appears to have been a man of moderate views, and his influence with the Romish party was of considerable value in disposing them to acquiesce in Elizabeth's government.

John Wells, B.A. 1558, was subsequently Prebend of York and also of Wells.

As we have seen, Bayly quitted Clare in 1560,* and was succeeded by Edward Leeds.

Dr. Leeds was born at Benenden in Kent, and has been supposed (though in all probability wrongly) to have

* For the signature of a lease by Dr. Leeds as Master upon May 12, 1559, I cannot account. It is an isolated instance, and I suspect an error in the date.

been a monk at Ely. He took his M.A. degree in 1545, was made Canon of Ely in 1548, and commissary to the Bishop of Ely in 1550. While Master of Clare he also held the appointment of Master of the Hospital of St. John and Mary Magdalene in Ely, and was thereby enabled materially to increase the prosperity of the College ; in 1562 he procured a transfer to it of the property of the Hospital (by letters patent from the Queen, afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament) "for the mayntenance of X scollershipps there for ever at the allowance of XII^d the weke to every scoller." This was an important addition to the revenues of the Society, and called for the expression of gratitude on the part of the recipients towards those who had helped to the result, which is contained in the notice of the ~~bon~~efaction :

" Wherein the Colledge tasted of the good and free disposition of their good Ladye Queene Elizabeth and of the speciall frenshippe of the L[ord] of Cant[erbury]* his grace, and singulere favour of Sir William Cicell then secretarye to the queene's majestice and high chawnceller of the Universitie of Cambridge, who as to all others in respect of lerninge so beinge espesiell good patronе unto this poore Colledge not only opteyned the sayde sintence of the queenes majestice but also besides XXX^l of mort-mayne."

Towards the close of his life Dr. Leeds (upon March 28, 1576) drew up a rental of St. John's in Ely with all the property belonging to it. The totals are as follows :

* Archbishop Parker, whose chaplain Leeds was.

			£	s.	d.
Property in Ely	.	.	14	5	10
„	Littleport	.	9	0	0
„	Downham	.	12	8	
„	Wytchford	.	3	0	0
„	Haddenham	.	5	0	
„	Doddington	.	13	4	
„	Witcham	.	17	0	
„	Cambridge	.	1	4	
			28	15	2

This amount tallies with the allowances to the scholars and the amount of mortmain (£30) which the College procured.

Dr. Leeds became LL.D. in 1569. He was one of the most eminent "Civilians" of his day and was a Master in Chancery. He resigned the Mastership of Clare in 1571, and in 1573 he became Rector of Croxton, where he died February 17, 1590. His monument may be seen in the chancel of the Church at Croxton; the brass represents him in his Doctor's robes, and at the foot of the figure is the following inscription :

"Eduardus Leeds legum doctor natus apud Benenden in comitatu Cantii, dudu Magister Aulae Clare in Academia Cantabrigiensi, et tam in eadem Aula, quam in Collegio Emanuelis Benefactor cum primis; unus magistrorum Cancellariae, et Dñs Manerii de Croxton. Obiit 17 diē Februarii Aº Dñi 1589. Cujus corpus hic jacet sepultum."

Upon Dr. Leeds' retirement in 1571, Thomas Byng succeeded to the Mastership in his place. Like his predecessor he was a Doctor of laws and a man of varied accomplishments, as is shown by the important

posts, in the University and elsewhere, which he successively occupied. He was originally attached to Peterhouse, but if we cannot claim the honour of his education, we can at least admire our predecessors' discretion in their choice of a new head.

He was chosen Public Orator in 1565, and held the post till 1570. In 1567 he became Prebend of York, and three years later proceeded to the degree of LL.D. As Master of Clare he continued to take an active part in University affairs. He was twice Vice-Chancellor, and for twenty years (1574-1594) Regius Professor of Civil Law. After resigning his professorship he became Dean of the Arches in 1595, and died December 1599. It was, of course, no unusual thing in those days for a man to hold very various appointments, but Dr. Dyng's must have been an exceptionally brilliant career. It is to be regretted that we know but little of the internal history of our College* during this long period of nearly thirty years; but our College documents are singularly barren during the comparatively quiet times that succeeded the final establishment of the Reformation and lasted till the outbreak of fresh disturbances in the reign of Charles I. One important incident, however, did occur during his Mastership which might well have led to a great extension of the revenues and the importance of the College.

Lady Frances Sidney,* Dowager Countess of Sussex, and aunt of Sir Philip Sidney, dying upon March 9, 1589, left by will to her executors a sum of five thousand pounds, beside such of her goods as were un-

* The amusing story told by Fuller (p. 294), is reserved for the chapter upon Social Life.

bequeathed, for the foundation of a new College in the University, to be called the Lady Frances Sidney Sussex College, and to support a Master, ten Fellows, and twenty Scholars. Should the sum appear to her executors to be inadequate for the purposes of a new foundation, the testatrix directed that it should be applied to the enlarging of Clare Hall and the purchase of lands for the maintenance of additional Fellows and Scholars, who were to be on the same footing as the existing Fellows and Scholars, and she desired that the combined foundations should thenceforward be called the "Clare and Lady Frances Sidney Sussex College or Hall"—a truly portentous title, for which it would tax all our modern ingenuity to devise a convenient abbreviation.

The executors, however, were not daunted by any fear of the insufficiency of the bequest, and their courage met with the reward it deserved. As Fuller in his quaint way says, "This Benjamin College [the least, and last in time, and born after (as he at) the death of its mother] thrived in a short time to a competent strength and stature."

It is interesting to note that one of the original Fellows and the second Master of a foundation which might so easily have taken the shape of an extension of our own was an *alumnus* of Clare. Francis Aldrich* entered Clare in 1589. He became a Fellow of Sidney on its foundation, and in 1608 succeeded James Montague as Master. He took the degree of D.D. in 1609, but his untimely death at the age of thirty-two in the same year (December 27) cut short an exceedingly promising

* Cooper calls attention to Fuller's error in saying that he was a Fellow of Trinity.

career. His epitaph in St. Margaret's Church, Canterbury, is quoted by Baker (MS. vi. 45), but it is poor stuff, and need not be here repeated.

In Cooper's *Athenae* there are preserved the names of a considerable number of members of Clare during this period. Many of them are little more than mere names now, but two deserve special mention.

Thomas Cropley entered as a sizar in 1577. The hardships of a sizar's life must have made a deep impression upon him, for by his will in 1607 he left among other bequests 20s. to the poor scholars of Clare Hall "to make them exceed in diet," and 13s. 4d. to each of thirty poor scholars, four of them at least to be of Clare.

Robert Greene, the poet, although originally at St. John's College, migrated to Clare after taking his B.A. degree. He lived a dissolute life in town and died from his excesses in 1592, but his genius is undeniable.

Among others of about the same date we may select five for special mention:

Isaac Bargrave, D.D., was a Fellow of the Society. He was appointed Dean of Canterbury in 1625 in succession to his brother-in-law, next to be mentioned, and died in 1643. His chief interest to us as a Fellow of the Society consists in the fact that he played a part in Ruggle's comedy of *Ignoramus*, when performed before King James I. on the occasion of his visit to Cambridge.

John Boys, D.D., was originally at Corpus College, but migrated after taking his M.A. degree to Clare, where he became a Fellow. He married Angela Bargrave in 1599, and was Dean of Canterbury from 1619-1625.

William Cavendish, second son of Sir William Cavendish, was created first Earl of Devonshire in 1618, and died March 1626.

Sir Thomas Richardson was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1621, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1626, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1631, and died about 1635.

Richard Thompson (or *Thomson*), commonly called *Dutch Thompson* (being born of English parents in Holland), was one of the translators of the Bible, and as a scholar is said to have been better known on the continent than in England. He died in 1613.

The reader will not have failed to remark how many of those who were at some time members of our College had either been previously attached to other foundations, or subsequently left Clare to go elsewhere. It is difficult to estimate how far we are entitled to lay claim to such; but it has been thought well to mention them, although it must be frankly conceded that in some cases their connection with Clare was a very brief one.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS

I.—THE QUADRANGLE

WE know but little of the earliest College buildings. A few scattered notices do, it is true, occur in the College Register, but they serve rather to tantalise us by their brevity than to afford us real information.

Thus we may presume that the library was being enlarged, or more probably a new library being built, about 1420–1430, when we read that William Wymbyll “paid £3 for the glass of all the windows on the south side of the library,” and that his successor, William Gull, gave “4 marks towards the fabric of the library.” Wymbyll’s name also occurs as the donor of “10 marks and more to the building of the chamber next Trinity Hall, and the battlemented wall”; the latter appears, from Hammond’s map* of Cambridge, published in 1592, to have run from the south-west corner of the quadrangle half way to the river.

His successor, William Wilfleet, gave “as much lime as was required for the building of the new wall to the river bank,” and (as executor of William Fulburn) he

* Reproduced by Mr. Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. i. p. 82.

paid 20s. to the building of the library, besides procuring another donation to it of four marks.

Thomas Stoyll erected a "great chimney" in the hall, besides paving (?) the hall and placing a new ceiling over the high table.

The destruction of the Master's lodge and the treasury by fire on October 10, 1521 (see p. 31), appears to have led to a practical rebuilding of the whole College.

Here we get upon firmer ground, and the sketch* of the old College made in 1714 by Edmund Prideaux, fortunately recovered a few years ago, enables us to follow the brief notices which have been preserved.

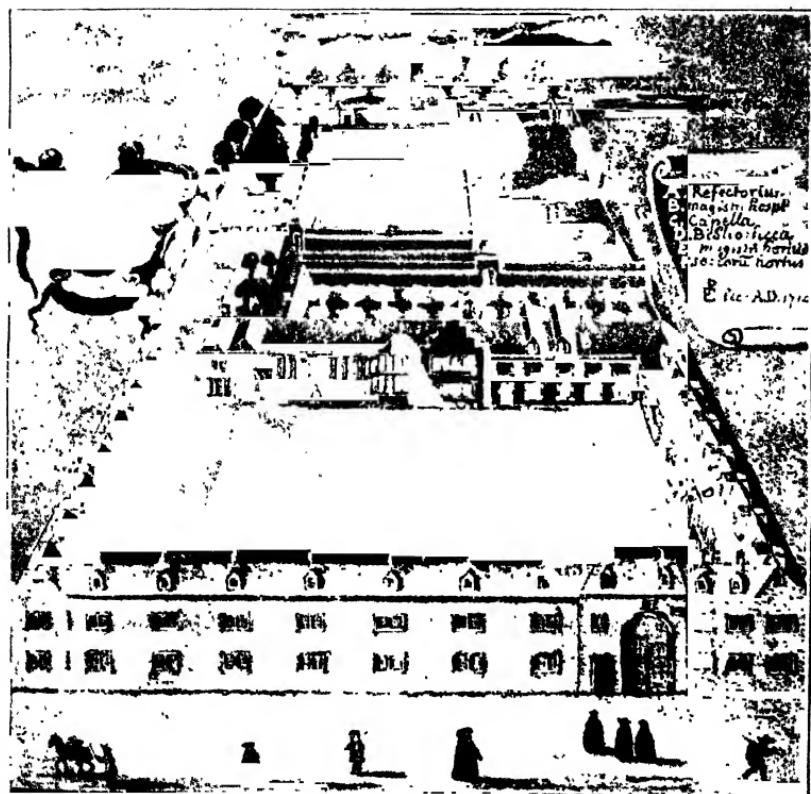
In 1523 the kitchen and the rooms between the kitchen and the hall were built, and in the following year the hall and the Master's "little chamber" were removed to the place where they are represented in Prideaux' sketch.

In 1525 Dr. Natures built at his own expense the whole of the Master's lodge, and in 1528 Mr. Caumonde, Vicar of St. Peter's, Colchester, defrayed the cost of the building between the Master's chamber and the Chapel.

In 1535 the Chapel was built, Mr. Spicer, Rector of Clopton, contributing £100 (or, as elsewhere stated, £95) towards it, and in the same year the wall "leading from the west door of the hall to the house over the water," and apparently a continuation of the battlemented wall already mentioned, was put up.

These later buildings, whatever may have been the exact

* It is bound up in a book containing a copy of the College statutes, and was found in Caius library. Probably it had been lent to Sir James Burrough by Dr. Goddard, when the building of our new Chapel was contemplated, and had been accidentally transferred to the Caius library at his death.



Sketch of the Old College, Cambridge, taken from the same place as the sketch of the New College, but from a lower point, and looking towards the town. The building is the same, but the tower is higher, and the roof is more extensive. The windows are larger, and the doorways are more numerous. The building is surrounded by a wall, and there is a garden in front of it. The sketch is signed 'Prideaux' and dated 'Ex a. D. 1712'.

PRIDEAUX'S SKETCH OF THE OLD COLLEGE

site of the earlier ones, abutted on the street and therefore fronted the buildings of King's College, which were at that time directly opposite on the other side of the way.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the fabric had fallen into so bad a state of decay that it was resolved to pull it down and build an entirely new College. As it seemed desirable to obtain easy access to the open country by the erection of a bridge over the river, overtures were made by the Master and Fellows to the authorities of King's College, to whom the land across the river belonged, for the purchase of ground for this purpose. They requested the latter to allow them to construct a causeway to run from the proposed bridge into the fields beyond, and offered, if they would consent to part with a portion of the land known as Butt close, to set their College, with the exception of the Chapel and library (which was over the Chapel), further towards the river, so as to allow more space between the two Colleges, and, in the event of the Provost and Fellows of King's thinking that this was not enough, to further compensate them by letting them have land in exchange in the vicinity of Cambridge.

These proposals were reasonable enough, and the negotiations would doubtless have proceeded amicably between the two parties, had not the Society of Clare Hall unfortunately applied to the King, before an answer was returned from King's College, soliciting him to make the grant of the land desired. The King's mandate to his College to comply with the request of Clare Hall not unnaturally provoked an intense feeling of indignation, but the King's College authorities consented at

last to withdraw their opposition. A second letter was sent by King Charles on March 17, 1638, by the terms of which Clare College obtained the land, about two and a-half acres in extent, which is now occupied by the avenue and the river garden, on a lease for twenty years at an annual rent of £5, the lease to be renewed whenever necessary without fine, while the little strip of land, seventy feet long by fifty feet wide, lying east of the south-east corner of the present College, was leased by Clare on similar terms for 12*d.* a year to King's College. This arrangement was designed to meet the objection felt by the governing body of King's College to parting with College property, and continued in force till 1823, when a final exchange of these pieces of land was effected, as will be recorded in due course.

So ended for the time the Butt close controversy, to give the dispute the name by which it is generally known. It was not without its humorous aspect, as may be seen from the letters which passed between the two parties during the quarrel, and which it is to be regretted that want of space compels us to omit. It may, however, be mentioned, before we pass on, that permission to erect a bridge over the river was desired in order to enable the members of the College to escape into the fields in time of infection.

It may surprise the reader who is familiar with the harmonious structure of our beautiful College to learn that the work of rebuilding was spread over a period of seventy-seven years,* with several prolonged interruptions; and that it was so far from being built on one plan that the windows of the west front were actually designed

* From 1638-1715. This does not include the Chapel, which was not rebuilt till fifty years after the quadrangle was completed.

in different styles of architecture, which subsequently required to be brought into unity, and lastly that modifications were introduced from time to time down to the beginning of the present century, the last being carried out as late as 1815, or just a hundred years after the completion of the entire quadrangle.

Still more surprising is it that we have no record of the architect who designed the earliest and best part of our College, which so great an authority as the late Professor Willis described as “one of the most beautiful buildings, from its situation and general outline, that he could point out in the University. It had a homogeneous appearance, more like a palace than a College.”* Yet on inspection the structure betrays the different dates of its several portions. A term of more than twenty-six years separates the erection of the east and south ranges from the time when the work was again seriously resumed, and the difference between the earlier work and the later may be seen at once by any one who will take the trouble to glance over the balustrade along the line of attic windows ; the dormers in the earlier part are uniformly of the same shape, while those on the north and west ranges are constructed in trios, a pair of pointed dormers being succeeded by an arched one ; but this difference is so completely lost sight of in the general effect that probably many of those who have actually lived in the College have never noticed it.

It will be observed, too, that the lines of the north range, as seen from the inside of the court, are not in

* Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. i. p. 77. It may be mentioned, however, that there is an old tradition in the College that it was designed by Inigo Jones.

agreement with the lines of the other three sides. It would perhaps be difficult to produce a clearer proof of the general sense of harmony and proportion in the building as a whole than is afforded by these differences at once so marked and so unobtrusive.

It has been said that the College was not all built at the same time, and in telling our story it will be well to take the several portions in chronological order.

The first period begins with the year 1635, when preparations for the work were commenced, and goes down to the year 1656, when the building accounts for the work so far executed (viz., the east range, bridge, &c., south range, and foundation of the south half of the west range) were finally audited and settled.

For some two or three years before the adjustment of the differences between the two Colleges over Butt close, preparations had been actively carried on ; subscriptions towards the building fund had been solicited, and materials in view of a speedy start purchased.

Barnabas Oley, Bursar of the College, was the life and soul of the undertaking, and it is to the Buildings Account Book * in which he and his successors in the work entered full statements of receipts and expenditure, that we are indebted for the following details.

The book commences with apposite quotations (very characteristic of the writer) from the Old Testament,

* Mr. J. W. Clark has already published in his *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* an admirable account of our buildings based upon this book. The present chapter has been written after an independent examination of its contents ; but I take this opportunity to acknowledge my great obligations to Mr. Clark's work.

and the date is carefully notified in the following words :
“ *Incipit hic liber cum anno (et, quod melius est, cum
Deo opt^o max^o) die Januarii primo. Anno Dⁿⁱ 1635* ”
(= 1636).

The total receipts for the first period (including £166 4s. “ for old plate sold by y^e consent of y^e company ”) amounted to £3650 10s. 11d. The expenditure is set down as £5300 12s. 8d.

The accounts might certainly have been rearranged with advantage. Generally speaking the expenditure is entered under the different heads of *timber*, *bricks*, and so forth, although here and there pages, or parts of pages, are devoted to separate portions of the building. There is, therefore, considerable difficulty in picking out the various items and arranging them chronologically, in order to determine the period during which each portion was in course of erection, and the sums expended upon it, and when all has been done there is a considerable residue which it is impossible to allocate with certainty.

The purchase of bricks, timber, and stone commenced in January and February 1636, but the actual work of construction only began after the receipt of the King’s letter in March 1638.

From the inscription (which has been preserved by Cole and will be quoted when we come to describe the Chapel) we know that the foundation stone of the new College was laid upon May 16, 1638, and it is in harmony with this that we find the first entries of payments for wages to John Westley, the builder, Thomas Grumball, the mason, and for smiths’ work, about this time. Between April 21 and September 12, 1638,

John Harrow was paid £17 for 417 loads of clay and sand, "delivered into Clare hall *for the first begin^{ing} of or Building.*" The work must have proceeded a-pace, for we find the first order for Colley Weston slates upon May 4, 1638, and battlements are first mentioned upon June 29 following.

The east range and the bridge were undertaken first, and the reason for beginning with the latter is doubtless to be found in a desire to facilitate the conveyance of building material into the College.

The east range was completed in a little more than three years, the last instalment of the glazier's bill being paid upon May 27, 1641.

The removal of the old buildings at the east end was in part carried out at the end of 1640, when the new range was practically completed, but the old street wall was still left standing and was only taken away in 1673.

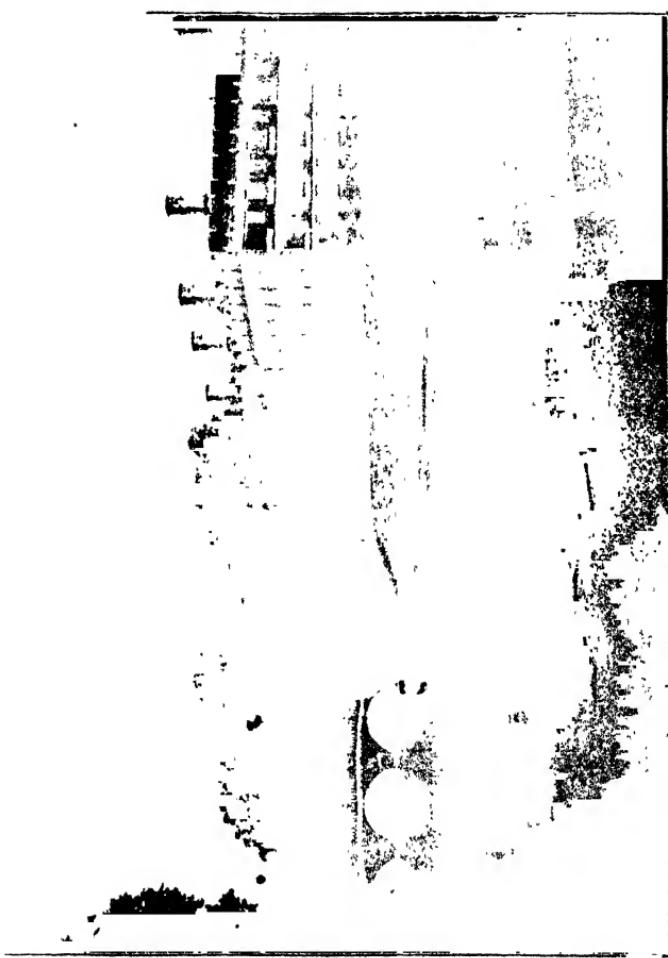
The bridge was built during 1639 and finished off in 1640.

Two items of expenditure in connection with it are of interest and may be quoted :

Jan. 18, 1638 (1639) To Tho: Grumball for a draught of a bridge	3 0
Feb. 1. 1639 (1640) To Grumbold for working y ^e Rayle & Ballisters	£6 5 0

If the bridge in question is the river bridge, there could be little complaint of the architect's charges.

The south range was commenced in the summer of 1640, and was completed, so far as it was completed at this time, in about two years. There is a quaint receipt from the "plummer" upon November 12, 1642,



CLARE COLLEGE FROM KING'S PADDOCK

in which he promises to do the work still to be done on the south range by Christmas, and to do it "very well and sufficiently."

The south range is remarkable for the handsome staircase in the centre, which is quite different in design from any other staircase in the earlier part of the building. We learn from Loggan's print, in which it is marked *Magistri hospitium*, that this portion of the new College was set apart as a temporary lodge for the Master; this, no doubt, accounts for the fine wood-carving with which this staircase is decorated.

Nothing was done upon the west range at this time beyond "rammeing the foundations," for which small sums were paid upon December 24, 1640, and Jan. 30, 1641, amounting together to £2 7s.

This concludes the construction of the first portion of the new College. The accounts were not audited till August 25, 1656, owing doubtless in part to the interruption caused by the civil war; a complete settlement of accounts between the College and Oley was then made. The only entry of special interest is one relating to the sale of plate. Oley is debited with £36 for "Mr. Collet's bason, 2 candlesticks and 2 Flaggons" which he had sold for that amount; on the other hand he is allowed £177 4s. 2d. "for old plate sold w^{ch} he allowed the Coll: . . . but [which] was by order of the Societie deliver'd to the King before the warres begun."

It is clear from this that the Society sold some of its old plate in order to raise funds, although it is not easy to see why the sum here specified as due for old plate *not* sold does not harmonise with the amount with

which Oley debits himself for old plate at the beginning of the accounts, and the two entries probably refer to separate transactions.

We learn from Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge* (p. 87), and from other sources,* that when the civil war broke out, the materials collected by the College were seized by the Parliamentary party for the purpose of strengthening the defences of Cambridge castle. Subsequently the Society applied to the Protector for indemnification for this loss.

A letter from Tillotson (then a Fellow of the Society and tutor to the son of Edmund Prideaux, Cromwell's Attorney-General) is preserved in the College library, together with copies of the Vice-Chancellor's certificate of the losses sustained by the College, of a third petition from the Society, and of letters which Dr. Dillingham, then Master, sent in January 1655 to Dr. Harrington giving an account of what had occurred, and in December 1656, by the hand of Tillotson, to Nathaniel Bacon, Master of Requests, thanking him for his services in the matter; these documents enable us to give the reader a full account of this transaction.

In its first petition, in 1653, the Society had assessed its losses at £503 6s. 6d.—viz. £275 1s. 6d. for timber taken from the College and employed "for the State's use and benefit," and £228 5s. for "damage thereby sustained from March 31, 1642, to March 31, 1654."

Their petition was referred, by an order of January 20, 1654, to Lazarus Seaman, the Vice-Chancellor, and two others, and they testified to the fairness of the claim. As it appeared, however, that there were no

* Cooper, *Annals*, iii., 340, &c.

woods in the neighbourhood out of which they could be compensated, the Society sent a second petition asking for an order to empower commissioners to certify the amount of arrears in the hands of Mr. William Hickman, "one of y^e treasurers in Hartfordshire"; this was granted upon August 20, 1654, but the College authorities, finding that it would involve much trouble and delay to bring the commissioners together, and being assured that there were such arrears, presented a third petition in January 1655, declaring that, if Cromwell would give them an order for £350, they would "with much thankfulnessse acknowledge his Highnesse's grace and favour."

The Society finally obtained £300 worth of timber out of Somersham Park, but whether it received any pecuniary compensation as well is uncertain. If Cromwell gave them the £350 asked for, as well as the timber, it was certainly generous, but on the other hand the timber alone seems hardly adequate, seeing that the extent of their loss had been certified to amount to over £500.

In the appendix to Birch's *Life of Tillotson* (pp. 402, 403), it is said that he obtained a thousand pounds from the exchequer, but this appears to be, at least, an exaggeration.*

The Society sent a letter of thanks to Cromwell, and shortly afterwards received the following letter from Tillotson; it has a peculiar interest for us, for we learn from it that Cromwell was at the time one of the tenants of the College, in respect of a piece of land at Ely.

* I have found no indication of any gift of money, over and above the timber, except this statement.

"Honor^d S^r,

"I was severall times since I came to London at White Hall but could not speak wth his Highnes hee being then in a course of Physick ; on Fryday last Mr Attornay Gen. was pleased to carry mee thither and bring mee to him. I deliverd y^r Letter w^{ch} hee read carefully once and againe, & recited to Mr Attornay y^t clause (*nulli tamen libertius agnoscant quam gens togata p'sertim Academica*) & sayd to him, 'Mr Att. upon y^e words *gens togata* yoⁿ y^e Lawyers might have come in for ^{17th} most thankefull people if *p'sertim Academica* had not hindered yoⁿ.' When hee had made an end of reading *ookeing*, very pleaseingly hee came to mee and walked ^{11th} wne towards y^e lower end of y^e roome & sayd, 'S^r I take this acknowledgem^t from y^e Colledge very kindly, & am glad I had an opportunity to do yo^r Colledge y^t favo^r ; I pray p^{nt} my service to yo^r Master and Fellowes, and tell them I give them thankes for their thanks & tell y^m they shall find mee ready to embrace all opportunityes of showing favo^r to y^e Universytes and in particular to yo^r Colledge & Society & I pray let y^m know thus much frō mee.' After this (for I advised wth y^e Attor. about y^e busines of y^e Lease who told mee it could not be taken ill to have it mentioned) I told him I was to trouble his Highnes wth another busines frō y^e Coll too inconsiderable in it selfe to mention to him, but y^t wee could do nothing in it wthout his Highnes direction, hee asking w^t y^t was I told there was a Lease of a small parsell of ground in Ely almost expir'd, y^e Society desired his Highnes would expresse his pleasure in it : whereto he answer'd 'S^r yⁿ say very right. I might have remembered it upon yⁿ mention of Clare Hall. I am glad yoⁿ minded mee of it ; I am now going to dinner & know not where readily to find y^e Lease, but I desire to have it renewd & to y^t purpose shall send one

to wayte upō y^e Society, all I shall desire of y^m is they would please to use mee as they do their other Tenants (smiling as he spoke this) I shall give some order to my steward concerning it & desire to speake wth yo^u againe this afternoone ' . . . '

On the back of this letter is written :

" Mr. Tillotson's letter after y^e delivery of a letter of thanks to his Highness y^e Protector frō y^e College for giving us 300th worth of timber out of Somersham Parke toward y^e damages sustained by taking timber frō us for y^e fortification of y^e castle in y^e time of y^e warrs. Dec. 22, 1656."

The accounts when the work was resumed, after the Restoration, are much easier to follow, as explanatory notes are from time to time appended.

It will be well, however, before we proceed to describe the new undertakings, to recall the exact state of the buildings at this time.

The bridge and the new east and south ranges had been built. The south and east sides of the old College had been removed, a wall along the street in front alone being left standing, with a lodge for the porter at the east end of the Chapel. The north range had not yet been touched, and probably the west range, so far as it did not interfere with the new south range, was also left standing ; otherwise the interior of the College would have been exposed on the west side.

The old kitchens, however, and part of the old hall had been necessarily removed to make way for the south range, and, if the Master was already accommodated on the central staircase of the south range, we may, perhaps, suppose that the old lodge was utilised for a combination-room as well as for screens and butteries,

and that the hall was enlarged on the north side by throwing the old combination-room into it to compensate for the part taken down when the south range was built.*

We may now proceed to describe the next step taken. In 1662 the inside wall of the proposed new west range was raised to a height of ten feet. The length of the wall is given as seven and ~~a~~ ^{one} ~~half~~ ^{one} foles, and, as the mention of a payment for "Pedestals and C^opitalls on each side y^e Gateway" shows that the archway in the west range was now set up, this length of wall (123 feet 9 inches) is sufficient for the west range (inside measurement) and the space between the west range and the west end of the existing north range; we may therefore assume that the outline of the whole quadrangle was now marked out.

In 1669 work was once more resumed. Dr. Dillingham's record of disbursements is entered in the building account-book with the following heading :

"Dr. Theophilus Dillingham Master and Bursar of Clare Hall in Cambridge his Accounts for y^e building of y^t part of y^e West Range abutting upon y^e bowleinge Green, & adjoyneing to y^e South Range & extending to y^e Walke leading up to y^e bridge being two chambers of a flore, exactly copyed out of Dr. Dillingham's papers of all y^e particulders wh^{ch} were Auditted by y^e Society."

* The "old cole house" was turned into a kitchen at the beginning of 1640, and we also find three references to the hall. At the end of 1639 Fra. Wright was paid £3 1s. 4d. "for removeing the hall," in Oct. 1640 £2 2s. was paid "for takeing pt of ye old hall," and in Nov. 1640 Malden was paid 11s. 8d. "for work done in ye 'present' hall." These entries show that the hall had been shifted, but whether to the north range, or only further north in the west range it is impossible absolutely to determine, but the latter appears to me the more probable view.

Four or five of the entries may be quoted:

We may note first that the exact date of beginning the work is recorded: "Apr. y^e 19th we began to cleare y^e foundation 1669."

The next entry may perhaps preserve the name of the architect of this part of the College:

"Apr. 24th 1669 paid to Jackson for his journey hither to surveigh y^e building, by consent £1 0 0

That the west end of the south range was still incomplete is shown by the following:

Apr. 15, 1671. To Andr: Haslop "about stripping y^e end of y^e South building not finished" £6 1 9

Oct. 25, 1671. To Rob: Grumbold:

"two bills for y^e chimney peices, transums for y^e end windows of y^e South Rang, Schroles" £7 0 4

This last is particularly interesting; it is clear that the transoms at the west end of the south range were a novelty now introduced for the first time. When the Master's lodge on the north side of the west range was built at the beginning of the next century the fashion had again changed, and the windows there were never decorated with transoms; the transoms at this time put in to the windows upon the south side of the west range were removed, to render the whole west front harmonious, by a College order of April 18, 1719. It was then agreed

"That the side of the College next the fellows garden be sash'd, and the two arches in y^e said side made up. . . ."

The marks in the stonework of the windows where the transoms were cut out can still be seen. This discovery is, I believe, due in the first instance to Professor Willis.

Dr. Dillingham's disbursements were spread over a period of seven years, viz. from April 1669 to May 1676, and amount to £ 5^s 9^d 19^s. 7^d.

The receipts incl^{ing} "incomes rec^d for y^e 4 chambers in y^e star and next y^e west gatehouse," and donations, among end of then funds rec^d of one who desires his name made known for a time (Mr. Tho: Broughton, y^e Colledge Barber)."

The south-west corner for some reason or other was not finished off as soon as the staircase next the west gateway.

Upon p. 132 we read:

"Anno 1679

"An account by me S. Blithe master of Clare Hall in Cambridge of y^e several sumes of money laid out in finishing all y^e inner work of y^e 12 Roomes belonging to y^e Southwest * Corner of y^e new building in y^e yeare 1679 till which time they were not inhabitable."

This is a most important page in the accounts, for it enables^{us} to determine the whereabouts of the College¹⁶⁴⁰ combination-room, and buttery, during the

* The Hall" The strictly correct; the incomes into chambers in the last¹⁶⁴⁰ to the n^o of the archway staircase was inhabited certainly before¹⁶⁴⁰ that account was audited. The more probable

period 1679 to 1693, when the present hall was finally opened.

We have already said that all objection to taking down the old College hall and Master's lodge was removed by the erection of the wall in 1662 along the west side of the new quadrangle. We may, I think, fairly assume that this part of the old buildings would be cleared away as soon as possible; but presumably it was found impossible to substitute other rooms until the south-west corner was rendered habitable and capable of being used for the purpose.

That the old College hall was removed by the end of 1686 is shown conclusively by what Whiston says in his memoirs of himself (vol. 1. p. 23):

"I was admitted of Clare-Hall, Cambridge, as I have already said, about the middle of 1686, while a very small part of the old college was standing; tho' I question whether any of it was standing when I came to reside, which was the September following."

This assertion is supported by Loggan's print (published in 1689 or 1690), which so far from showing any traces of the old hall, actually represents trees in the middle of the quadrangle.

If we assume that the hall, combination-room, &c., were temporarily removed into the south-west corner of the building in 1679, we shall easily understand Dr. Blythe's accounts for this year.

On the receipt side we find entered :

"Income of y ^e 3 story over y ^e Buttery paid by Aspin	£5 0
--	------

and a note adds that several incomes into "y^e New chambers in y^e South-west corner next Kings Colledge Gardens" were allowed to the College; among these chambers is the room "over y^e Combination."

On the opposite page, in the account of expenditure upon the twelve rooms in the south-west corner, we find among other items (some of which it is true do not refer to this corner):

" Novemb. y^e 6th 1679. Paid to Ja: Blisse for painting y^e Colledge Hall, &c. . . . £2 5 6

" Jan. y^e 23 1679 [= 1680] paid to Will: Carton .

for 7 Spanish tables for y^e Combination roomes £4 18 7

" Acquittance Apr. y^e 6th 1680 for nineteen pounds two shillings & 7d. for hangings, curtaines, chaires, & carpetts for y^e Combination roome."

Lastly, we find at the end of a list of receipts between July 1690 and Michaelmas 1695:

" Incomes allowed to y ^e College w ^{ch} are paid in by	Mr. Tho : Henchman for <i>his chamber w^{ch} was late y^e combination dining room</i>	6 0 0
	Mr. Herne for <i>y^e late Hall now made a chamber</i>	
	{ for studies for his pupils { Morgan & Cardell	4 0 0
	Mr. Rich : Laughton for <i>y^e late combination with hangeings, chairs and tables</i>	15 0 0
	Mr. Whiston for <i>y^e chamber (late y^e buttery) for his pupil Whadcocke Preist</i>	3 0 0
	Mr. Herne for his Pupill Newton y ^e Income of <i>y^e 3^t study in y^e old Hall</i>	2 0 0

We should want very strong evidence to make us believe that the College spent money in turning into undergraduates' rooms an ordinary College hall, which, apart from its unsuitableness in any case for such a purpose, was in this particular instance a blot upon the whole quadrangle. But if we imagine a temporary hall in the south-west corner, all is clear enough. And we can understand why hall, combination-room, butteries, and new paper-office (the present muniment-room in the south-west corner of the College) are all brought together in the following notes of expenditure :

“ June y ^e 23, 1693, paid to James Disbrow his bill for . . . making up y ^e <i>Partitions in y^e late Hall, butteries, and Combination then turned into Chambers</i> ”	£6	2	5
“ June y ^e 30, 1693, paid Geo. Brierleys Smiths bill for lockes . . . for y ^e doors in y ^e <i>late hall, Butteries, and new Paper Office</i> ” &c. .	£3	15	8

It is pretty clear that Aspin's rooms were those on the right-hand side upon the second floor, as most if not all of the rest can be localised from the terms in which they are spoken of ; if this be so, the buttery must have been the right-hand ground-floor room, and this will account for the staircase there leading down to the cellars beneath. The two rooms with west aspects were respectively the combination dining-room and sitting-room, and the two rooms between them and the central staircase of the south range were probably used as a hall, the partition wall which divides this half of the south range being solid upon the ground-floor, while it is only lath and plaster above. The kitchens may have occupied the space

where the muniment-room now stands, but upon this I do not wish to do more than hazard a conjecture.

The north range and half the west range were still to be built.

In 1681 a subscription list was opened to meet the cost of building the north range, and preliminary payments were made in 1682.

Dr. Blythe says in the building account book :

“ in y^e yeare 1683, with these above-written expences, we laid y^e foundations of y^e walls for y^e hall and butterys, & brought them within 3 or 4 courses of bricks as high as y^e freestone is first laid ; and so covered them with hame & earth secure frō frosts ; & we had a good stocke of free-stone & new bricks (for y^e old materialls were all first spent in y^e foundations) reddy for work when we found ourselves able to goe on, w^{ch} was in 1685 and 1686. Our stocke of bricks for feare of losse by y^e frosts was sold, & y^e money good to bye new when we were sure to use them.”

One item of interest occurs in his accounts. Robert Grumbold was paid “for looking after y^e laying & raising of the foundation in 1683, and for drawing a designe for y^e building fifty shillings.”

Here at last we can point to the designer of at least a part of our College ; it must be acknowledged, however, that the north range is the least beautiful of all the sides of the court. Yet the architect can claim the not inconsiderable merit of designing a building which, while it fails to preserve the character of the rest and does not exhibit the same levels till we reach the top, is nevertheless sufficientl^y similar in general outline to avoid any unpleasing sense of difference.

The work, as stated by Dr. Blythe, was recommenced in February 1686.

The shell of the building was completed in 1687; the plaster work was done in that year and the following by David Fyfield (a London plasterer), and the windows were also glazed in 1688. The hall and screens were wainscotted in 1689 by Cornelius Austin at a cost of £127 1s.

The date of completion (1688) is inscribed over the arch leading from the staircase to the music gallery.

One item in these accounts deserves special mention as it points to a totally new departure in the decoration of the College. Hitherto the several portions as they were built were crowned with battlements, but now that we come to the north range we read (p. 144):

“ June y^e 18th 1687 p^d : to Rob^t Grumbold a 38th bill by bargain twenty four pounds, for working & setting all y^e stone Railes & Ballisters over y^e new hall & butteries — £24.”

Although the hall, butteries, and combination-room were now built, much still remained to be done. An entry in the building account book tells us that

“ on Apr. y^e 29th, 1689, we first began to open y^e ground, in order to lay all y^e foundations, not laid before, and then continued to finish y^e Kitchin, and cover it securely frō all winde and weather.”

A sum of £978 2s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was laid out during this and the succeeding year in building new kitchens, in wainscoting the combination-room, and putting in sash-windows, in setting up rails and banisters of wainscot wood over the screen, and in levelling, paving, &c., the court and walks.

In the course of the three years 1692-4 a further sum of £343 0s. 8d. was spent in connection with the new buildings.

The only item of expenditure likely to be of interest is that for the "Treatment (April 20, 1693) of our Benefactors, at the first opening of our new hall." The various charges are :

	£	s	d
May y ^e 5, 1693 to Ch: Bumstead for y ^e use peuter at y ^e treat	1	18	6
May y ^e 11, 1693 p ^d Henry Green his cookes bill for all his provisions at y ^e dinner	29	1	0
May y ^e 13, 1693 paid Edw. Huckes bill for 3 choristers. tobacco, sugar, knives, linnen, glasses, pipes, &c.	2	3	0
June y ^e 30, 1693 paid Edw. Huckes bill for beer bread & cheese upon account of this treat	7	18	8
Oct. 12. Allow for Canary & white Port wine to Mr Rob. Herne w ^{ch} he paid to Mrs Hinton	2	2	0
Oct. 24 paid (1693) to Mr Herne for so much of a hogshead of red-Port as was then spent	10	11	3
	<hr/>		
	53	14	5

The quadrangle was now complete with the exception of the north half of the west front, which was designed for a Master's lodge.

An order of the Society upon April 5, 1704, authorised proceedings, and the work was commenced under the auspices of Mr. Robert Hern. £662 12s. 6d. was collected and £473 2s. 1d. expended by him, but his death prevented him from completing the undertaking.

He was succeeded in the task by Mr. Edward Clarke ; the sum of £1508 3s. 11d. was expended under his direction, and the accounts audited July 8, 1708, the deficit being made good from the College funds.

In March 1706 an agreement was made between him and Robert Grumbold for work to be done, one item of which is important ; " For 150 foot of Rayle and Balaster on the west and east side of the New Building." This shows that the new departure was again adhered to, although Loggan, misled by the battlements upon the south half of the west range, has in his plan represented his imaginary Master's lodge as also surmounted by battlements.* His plan in this part of the building differs considerably from the subsequent reality in another respect also. He of course could know nothing of the design for the building over the west archway, and he has consequently represented the whole of the west range as *uniform* ; the pillars as far as the first floor, however, were already built, as we have seen, and they are faithfully represented in his plan. Allowing for the space otherwise filled up over the archway, 150 feet of balustrade would seem to be nearly enough to extend along the coping on both sides of the *whole* of the west range, and it is probable that the battlements on the court side of the south half were now replaced by a balustrade ; but of this I can find no mention.

It should be remembered that the Master's lodge at this time included the building over the archway ; this will account for the large sums expended upon it, which would otherwise appear extremely disproportionate to the cost of the rest of the quadrangle. Upon January 21,

* He represents the *balustrade* along the north range correctly.

1710, an order was passed to finish and fit up the new lodge; the sums expended upon this during the years 1710-14 amounted to a total of £1679 3s. 9d.

It has already been said that several modifications of the original structure were subsequently introduced.

One of these has been already mentioned. In 1719 the transoms were removed from the west windows in the south half of the west range, to render them uniform with the windows of the new lodge.

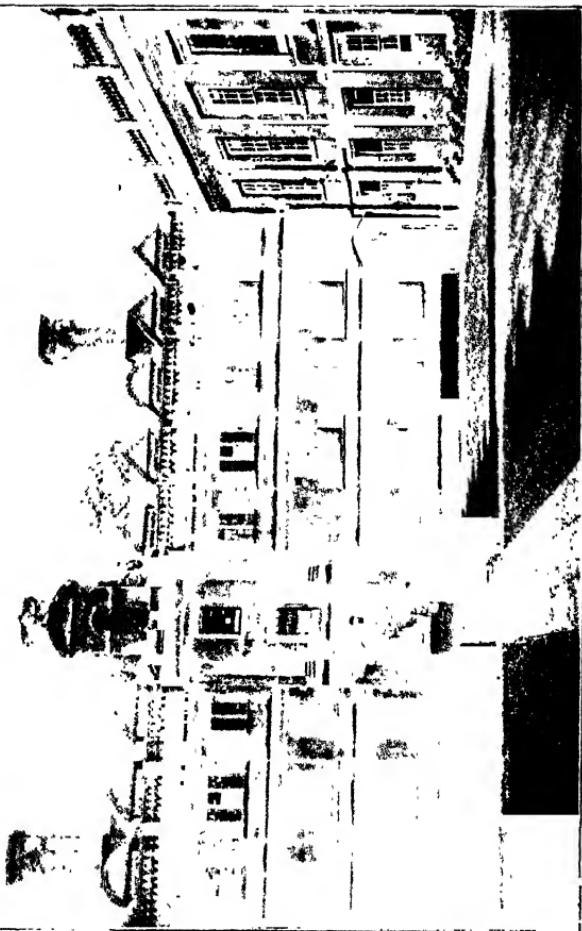
The next was carried out in consequence of an order of the Society of September 28, 1762. It was then agreed :

“That the Battlements of the south and east sides of the Court be taken down, and Balustrades be put up in their stead.”

As we have seen, the east and south ranges had been ornamented with battlements, while for the rest of the College rail and balustrade had been substituted. The improvement effected by the execution of this order must have been immense. To say nothing of the uniformity thus secured, the present graceful balustrade is far more picturesque than the original battlements.

In 1815 a further change was introduced in the west front. In pursuance of an order of July 21, 1815, the heavy pedestals below the windows on the ground floor and first floor of the river front were removed, and the appearance of this façade of the College thereby materially lightened. Probably, if we could now see the College as it was at the beginning of the century, we should realise, in a way which no sketch can convey to us, the extent of the gain which was effected by this change.

THE COURT



It may also be mentioned here that, by this same order, £1500 was allowed to the new Master (Dr. Webb) for defraying the cost of alterations in the lodge. The original designers of the lodge had apparently had in view the reception of visitors upon occasions of College ceremonies; there were a large number of small rooms, but none adequate for modern requirements. The change therefore was probably a necessary one, although the cost appears to have been very heavy. Dr. Webb is believed to have spent between £3000 and £4000 of his own, beyond the College allowance of £1500.

II.—THE CHAPEL.

It must not be forgotten that the cause of religion always went hand in hand with the promotion of learning in the minds of our pious Founders; although the statutes given by Lady Clare to her College in 1359 seem to be directed mainly towards the advancement of the latter object, they nevertheless contain full directions for the performance of divine service by the Fellows in Holy Orders. It is observable, however, that these services were to be held in the Parish Church,* no mention whatever being made of any portion of the College buildings as consecrated and set apart for this purpose. We may unhesitatingly conclude from this that no Chapel for the separate

* The Church of St. John the Baptist; after it was pulled down, the south chancel aisle (Clare Hall aisle) of St. Edward's Church was built to replace it. See Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. i. p. 80.

use of the College was then built, or even contemplated.*

It cannot have been long, however, before the desirability of possessing such a building was realised, and it is certain that a Chapel was erected before the end of the fourteenth century.

Dr. Donewich, by his will dated April 9, 1392, † left a bequest to the College on condition that a Priest were provided to celebrate divine service in "the chapel of the said college," or the parish church, for his soul and that of the Foundress for the space of a whole year, and in Bishop Arundel's visitation of the University in 1401, the Commissioners visited Clare Hall *in capella ejusdem Collegii.*

If further evidence be desired it may be mentioned that the old Register of the College contains (pp. 9-12) a long list of *ornamenta capellae*. They were rich and numerous, and indicate that the Chapel not only existed but was much valued and used by the members of the College. Further, as we have seen, the Society undertook to celebrate Masses *in capella* for four different benefactors between the years 1452 and 1455.

It is curious, in the face of such complete evidence, to find a tradition current even down to the eighteenth century that the College had never possessed a Chapel of its own till the year 1535.

Probably this error arose from the language in which Caius, in his history of the University, speaks of this

* I am indebted to the Rev. C. L. Feltoe for the notice of a licence granted to the Priests of the Society by the Bishop of Ely (April 27, 1352) to say Mass within the walls.

† Transcribed in Baker's MS. vol. ii. p. 149.

building: *sacellum additum in hujus aulae complementum*. Fuller (p. 86) falls into the trap, although he subsequently (p. 132) corrects his mistake when describing Arundel's visitation. Cole repeats his mistake (MS. vol. ii. p. 2), and more surprising still is the same assertion made in the name of the Master and Fellows of Clare in the annotations to Dr. Vincent's sermon preached before Charles II. at Newmarket, October 4, 1674, and subsequently published in 1685 (1675?).

It may well be doubted; however, if either the first or the second of the two earlier Chapels was ever formally consecrated; indeed, this was admitted, in the case of the second, by Rowland Swynburne, as we have already seen, in 1557.

As has been already mentioned, the College suffered a terrible loss in the destruction of the Master's apartments and the treasury by the fire of October 10, 1521. The erection of a new Chapel was no doubt suggested by the extensive building operations which this fire necessitated. The generous gift of Mr. Spicer (see p. 60) must have defrayed in great measure the expense of the undertaking. When the College was again rebuilt in the seventeenth century, this building was left standing for want of funds to replace it by a better, and we are, therefore, fortunately able to give our readers a most interesting description of it from the pages of Cole:

“The pres^t Chapel, as I s^d before, was built in 1535, and stand detatch'd frō y^e Court at y^e N.E. Corner of y^e Quadrangle & makes a sort of side to y^e old court of Trinity Hall, & comes pretty near y^e Great Gate of our old Court w^{ch} it directly fronts; at y^e E. end of it is y^e Porter's

Lodge, where Tradition says y^t Peter Gunning B^p of Ely formerly studied in. Over y^o Anti-chapel is a student's Chamber and over y^m both & y^e Chapel runs a long Room w^{ch} was y^e old Library to y^e Coll: when y^e Coll: was new built they left Room to enlarge their Chapel designing to pull y^t down when it should be convenient, wth rough stones to joyn to y^e rest of y^e Building, w^{ch} tho' not yet done, yet am in hopes it won't be long first, y^e Coll: having several * 1000 p^{ds} in their Hands appropriated to y^t use, so in all probability we shall see a Chapel equal to y^e Beauty of y^e College: a Plan of which † I have formerly seen. There is an Inscription at y^e bottom of y^e undermost corner stone of y^e Building fronting our Coll: & w^{ch} is to joyn y^e Chapel, w^{ch} fr its awkward situation & partly fr its being covered by y^e other stones in y^e Wall I was some time before I c^d make out: but am sure it can be no other than what follows:

IESU XPO
 ΑΙΘΩ Ε ΚΑ Ε ΚΤΩ
 LAPIS SACER P.
 MAII . XVI . 1638

That is: This Stone sacred to Jesus Christ y^e chosen, or corner stone was placed here May 16, 1638. Come we now to y^e Chapel, w^{ch} is a good neat small Room separated fr y^e Antichapel by a Wooden Screen; there are no monum^{ts} of any sort in this part of y^e Chapel, tho' there is a Tradition y^t Dr Rob: Scot·Dean of Rochester & Master of this College lies interred in it, as there is another y^t y^e reason why no one, except this last named & that is

* An overstatement; it was barely £2000 at the time when he wrote.

† Cole appears here to be referring to the earlier buildings, and not to the present quadrangle. This plan is no doubt that made by Edmund Prideaux, which has been reproduced in this history.

not certain, was ever buried in it is that it never was consecrated: wth I think hardly probable. The Inside of this Chapel is handsomly furnished wth a double row of stalls on each side & at y^e W. end. The Altar stands on an Eminence of 3 steps and is covered by a handsom carpet, and has no Rails ab^t it: y^e Back of it is adorned wth a curious peice of fine Tapestry representing a Story out of y^e old Testament; & on each side of it, are 3 small Pillars by way of ornament having y^e Arms of y^e College over y^e middle one on each side. On y^e 2^d step w^{ch} leads up to y^e Altar stands y^e Litany Desk, made new while I was an unworthy member of this College. Here * is but one monument in y^e Chapel, w^{ch} is only an Honorary one or Cenotaph in Remembrance of a late Master & Benefactor, Dr † Samuel Blythe who lies buried in St Edwards Church. It is an extream handsome Mural Monum^t of white Marble curiously adorned wth Festoons of Fruits and Flowers & other decorations: In y^e middle is this Inscription. . . .”

[Here follows the inscription.]

“This handsom Monum^t is fix'd betwⁿ y^e 2 uppermost Windows of y^e S. side, & near y^e Altar. At y^e top are y^e Arms of y^e Coll: & his own under y^m in y^e same shield, viz: Two Coats impaled within a Bordure Sable, Gutty, Or, y^e 1st Or, 3 Chevronels, Gules, being y^e Arms of Clare, y^e 2nd Or, a plain Cross, Gules, being y^e Arms of Burgh: these, for y^e Colige: 2^{dly} Argent a Chevron, Gules, betwⁿ 3 Lyons rampant, Sable, for Blythe.

* “There”?

† Upon May 16, 1717, it was ordered that a monument should be erected “to the memory of the late Master Dr. Blythe according to the Model given in to the Society by John Woodward, if Approv'd of by Mr. James an Architect in Greenwich.” The cost was to be defrayed out of Dr. Blythe's benefaction to the value of one hundred pounds, or near that sum over or under.

"There are 3 Windows, on each side of y^e Chapel, in w^{ch} formerly were y^e Figures of y^e 12 Apostles and 4 Doctors of y^e Church curiously painted; but these were broken in the general Destruction of such peices of Decency throughout this County in 1643, & nothing but y^e lowermost half of y^m remain wth their names at y^e Feet of most of y^m. . . ."

Cole has added a sketch of the Chapel as it then stood, showing clearly the general outline of the building, but as he omits the rest of the College buildings, it is not at first sight very easy to realise its relation to them. A glance at Loggan's print, however, clears up the difficulty at once, and shows the general accuracy of Cole's description. In Loggan's print we see the rough stones at the north-east corner of the east range, with the Chapel entrance almost in front of them; the entrance to the library is evidently in the narrow passage between the old building and the new, to the west of the third buttress (as given in Cole's sketch). The stone with the inscription upon it must have been at the bottom of the rough stones.

The first important donation received towards the new Chapel was given in 1686 by Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely; but no further sums were received till 1716. In 1726 the Society agreed to accept a sum of £360 (£300 towards the Chapel and £60 for an annual commemoration of Dr. Blythe) in lieu of all its claims upon the estate of Mr. Edward Clarke, sometime Fellow of the College. In 1734 Edward Ward, of Stoke Doyle, in Northamptonshire, formerly Fellow-Commoner of the College, bequeathed £500 to be applied either to rebuilding the Chapel, or to the

augmentation of the library, or to the encouragement of the poorer and more deserving of the scholars under the degree of B.A. It was accordingly resolved to devote this money to the Chapel, the object first specified by the donor. Nearly thirty more years, however, were destined to pass before the work could be commenced. It was only after the death of Dr. Wilcox in 1762 that the Society was at last enabled, thanks to his bequest of over £5000, to undertake the task. The pulling down of the old Chapel was begun February 14, 1763, and the foundation stone of the new building was laid upon May 3, 1763. The following announcement in the *Cambridge Chronicle* of Saturday, April 30, 1763, has been preserved by Cole:

“On Tuesday next will be laid the first stone of the new chapel of Clare Hall, with the following inscription on it.

RESURGENTIS
COLLEGII, 1638,
SACELLI, 1763
POSUIT
P. S. GODDARD . M.
Maii 3 ”

The building was designed by Sir James Burrough, Master of Gonville and Caius College, but, as he died the year after the foundation stone was laid, the superintendence of the work was then entrusted to Mr. James Essex of Cambridge.

The total cost amounted to £7319 9s. 11d., and, as £7071 11s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. was received by donations, the cost to the College was only £247 18s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. The expenses include “a gratification” to Mr. Essex “for his drawing

of Plans, measuring of work, and for all his other care and trouble about the building and finishing the Chapel." This entry indicates that Essex was almost entirely responsible for the execution of the design, and the extent of his share in the work is shown by the tablet over the entrance to the ante-chapel which concludes *Jacobo Burrough milite et Jacobo Essex Architect.* . . .

The Chapel Accounts Book gives us particulars of the ceremony of consecration, which must have been an imposing one :

"The Bishop of London came to College Jun. 29, 1769, and was entertained, with his Family, at the Master's Lodge during his stay.

"Jul. 4 (Commencement day) He dined in the Hall, when a Latin Speech was addressed to Him by Woodrooffe the Senior Scholar. . . .

"July 5, 1769. The Chapel, being entirely finished, and compleatly furnished, was consecrated by the Right Rev⁴ Richard Lord Bishop of London formerly Fellow of the College. . . .

"After the Consecration there was a Dinner provided in the Hall, at which (as well as at the Consecration) were present, The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, The Vice-Chancellor, most of the Noblemen, Heads, Doctors, and Professors in the University, the Proctors, Orator, Registrar and other University Officers, with many other strangers, besides The B^p of London, the Master, 15 Fellows, 2 Fellow Commoners, 3 B.A. and eighteen Scholars with many other former Members of the College. The whole to the amount of about 100. The whole was conducted with the greatest decency and regularity, and to the satisfaction of everybody present."



THE CHAPEL.

The Chapel is, we think, hardly equal to the rest of the College buildings; the altar-piece, representing the Annunciation, by Cipriani, and the octagonal ante-chapel lighted from above, are the most interesting features of it. It may be mentioned that the monument to Dr. Blythe is now placed on the right hand wall of the ante-chapel, and that the coat of arms has disappeared; the corresponding monument upon the opposite side was placed there in commemoration of Dr. Wilcox, in accordance with a College order of March 25, 1767, at a cost which was not to exceed £100. The stained glass in the south-east window was given by the Rev. Joseph Power, formerly Fellow of the College and University Librarian. The other windows were put in between 1866 and 1870, the cost being defrayed by the Rev. Thomas Henry Coles, D.D., Vicar of Honington, in Lincolnshire; the organ, too, came from Honington.

The candlesticks upon the super-altar were given by Dr. Richard Terrick, Bishop of London, who consecrated the building. The gold chalice and paten, used in the celebration of Holy Communion, were the gift of Mr. William Butler, and the silver-gilt alms-dish was given by Dr. Samuel Blythe.

Dr. Nicolas Carter, sometime Fellow, gave the silver-gilt flagons, and about 1690 Sir Edward Bettenson gave a pair of candlesticks for the altar.

III.—THE LIBRARY

The College doubtless possessed a library of some sort from the very beginning, and the list which fills the first eight pages of the old College Register, indicates

that it contained a number of books which for those times must be accounted considerable.

We have seen that the library was being either extended or rebuilt in the first half of the fifteenth century, but in what part of the College it was situated we do not know.

In 1535 a new Chapel was built, and the library subsequently occupied the space above it.

An amusing story is told of this library in connection with the visit to Cambridge of the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor of the University, in March 1627 :

“ Dr Pask, out of his familiaritie, must needs carrie him to see a new librarie they are building in Clare Hall, notwithstanding it was not yet furnished with books ; but by good chance, being an open roome, 2 women were gotten thither to see his grace out at the windowes, but when the duke came thither were unexpectedly surprised. ‘ Mr. doctor, quoth the duke (when he saw them), you have here a faire librarie, but here are 2 books not very well bound.’ ”*

The use of the word “ building ” in this letter must not mislead us. Hammond’s map, published in 1592, shows that the shell at least of the room over the Chapel had been finished long before the Duke’s visit. *Building* means merely *fitting up*, with possibly some structural alterations ; and we cannot be wrong in connecting these alterations with the recent acquisition by the

* Letter quoted by Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan Controversies*, vol. ii. p. 355. The Duke of Buckingham proposed to erect a new library for the University, a design which was frustrated by his untimely end.

College of Ruggle's extensive library of French, Spanish, and Italian works. The existing accommodation was evidently insufficient for so large a number of additional volumes, and fresh arrangements had to be made.

The shell of the present library was built, as we have seen, in 1689 and 1690, and it may be mentioned that Barnabas Oley (who died February 20, 1686) bequeathed by his will, dated May 23, 1684, "100 marks English money to be laid out in building a Library in the North Range from one end to the other upon the ground ; the Hall at the West end, above the Library ; the Chappell at the East end, above the Library ; and nothing above the Hall or Chappell." Where he proposed to place the kitchens and butteries does not appear. The actual plan adopted differed in every detail, and it would be interesting to know if Oley was ever informed of Grumbold's design, which presumably was drawn early in 1684,* and if so whether he acquiesced in the arrangement. The Master and Fellows must have had some cogent reason for acting as they did, for the position of the library on the ground floor is an obvious precaution to ensure the safety of the books in case of fire.

When the present library was fitted up we do not know, but it was presumably before 1738 when the *old* library is referred to in a College order, quoted below. Cole, writing in 1742 (MS. vol. ii. p. 5) says :

"This Library also is y^e most elegant of any in y^e University, being a very large well proportion'd Room à la moderne wth y^e Books rang'd all round it & not in Classes as in most of y^e rest of y^e Libraries in other Colleges."

* He was paid for drawing a design of the north range on September 19, 1684.

The old library* over the Chapel was, however, still used, and Ruggle's collection of books was apparently kept there.

Cole says of it :

“ The old Library is over y^e Chapel, and had they not one so much better, w^d not be reckoned a despicable one, being fitted up wth wainscote Classes on both sides, . . . there is also a good Collection of Italian and Spanish Authors there.”

His sketch of the Chapel in 1742 enables us to describe the old library ; it was entered by a staircase to the west of the ante-chapel, and was as well lighted as such a room should be, having no less than nine windows on the south side, one of the ten in his sketch being doubtless on the staircase. Mr. Clark has conclusively proved that there were fifteen bookcases† in the room, eight on the south side in the spaces between the nine windows and seven on the north side to correspond, the remaining space being filled by a fireplace, the chimney for which is shown in Loggan's print. Of these bookcases ten are now in the present library, and the ends and cornices of five more were discovered in the closet at the top of the hall staircase after the fire in October 1890.

When the old Chapel was pulled down in 1763 the space over the hall was turned into a library ; for what

* It may be remarked that I'rideaux's plan represents dormers over the old library ; these have disappeared in Loggan's print and Cole's sketch. I have found no record of the date of this change.

† They closely resemble those in St. John's library which were made in 1623. Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. i. p. 113.

purpose it had been utilised before that time we do not know. It is this part of the College which is referred to in the order of May 14, 1818, to consider plans for "converting the old Library into sets of Rooms for Undergraduates," and it must have been then that all the bookcases for which room could be found in the present library were removed thither, and the rest taken to pieces, and the carved portions stored in the closet at the head of the stairs, for on November 26, 1818, it was ordered "that the shelves in the Classes removed from the old Library be newly arranged . . . and the Classes cleaned and varnished."

It is probable that "Dr. Greene's* skeleton" was first kept over the Chapel, and subsequently removed with the books to the space over the hall (whence it was carried off many years ago in an undergraduate raid), as we find that it was agreed upon October 18, 1738, "that a true and perfect Inventory of all the Goods and Chattels belonging to Dr. Robert Greene deceased in his late chambers . . . be taken . . . and that an Apartment in the old Library be fitted up for the reception of the same."

Whatever may be the value of the earlier books possessed by the College, there is no doubt that the foundation of our present collection was laid by George Ruggle's bequest in 1621. In his will he gives directions for the safe keeping of his books, and requires that two inventories of them should be taken between

* Dr. Greene was an eccentric Fellow, who left a considerable bequest to the College upon rather singular conditions, one being that his skeleton should be kept above ground. The Society finally obtained permission to substitute another skeleton for that of the donor. It was at one time kept in the present Library.

the College and his executor. The list of Spanish, French, and Italian books in our library is doubtless the College copy of this inventory.

It appears that hardly any fresh books were acquired by the Society during the period from 1621 to 1675. This was doubtless due to the rebuilding of the College which was in progress during the greater part of the time except when interrupted by the civil war. There was no money to expend upon such objects, and probably no satisfactory place where they could be housed if purchased.

Soon after this, however, we find mention of numerous donors of books. The two benefactors, however, to whom, after Ruggle, the library is most indebted are undoubtedly Dr. Humphrey Prideaux and Dr. Charles Morgan.

Dr. Prideaux was Dean of Norwich and father of the draughtsman to whom we are indebted for the sketch of the earlier buildings already referred to.

Finding in his old age that he could no longer read his Oriental books as he used to do, he allowed them (in 1722) to be presented, to the number of 300 volumes, to the library of the College at which his son had been educated.

The other benefactor, Dr. Charles Morgan, was Master of the College, and at his death, in 1736, he left all his books to the library. He had endeared himself by his learning and his amiability to a wide circle, and among the volumes bequeathed are a large number of presentation copies which he had received from his numerous friends.

It may perhaps not be out of place to mention a few

of the most valuable of our treasures. They are as follows:

(1) A copy of the first complete edition of Chaucer's works by Thomas Godfray, 1532. An autograph note of Sir Bryan Tuke in it states that he "wrote the preface for William Thynne clerk of the kitchen to Henry VIII. while waiting for the tide at Greenwich."

(2) A MS. copy of Ruggle's *Ignoramus*; also (i) the Westminster Scholars' edition of 1737; (ii) the second edition with the list of actors; (iii) the Dublin edition (the seventh).

(3) A copy of the *Trappolaria* of Giovanni Battista della Porta (1597, Venice)—the model upon which *Ignoramus* was based—with Ruffle's autograph and his marginal notes. Unfortunately both Ruffle's signature and the notes have been cut by the bookbinder employed to bind it. We may assume that this happened early in the present century from the fact that in Hawkins' edition of *Ignoramus*, brought out in 1787, Ruffle's signature is copied from this volume in full.

(4) The original MS. of the famous mock "trial of William Whiston, clerk, for defaming and denying the Holy Trinity before the Lord Chief Justice Reason."

(5) The first edition of the New Testament in Welsh. Anno 1567.

(6) Two copies of John Eliot's North American Indian Bible. Anno 1685.

(7) Five or six autograph books of Ben Jonson, including his copy of *Sallust*.

CHAPTER V IN PURITAN TIMES

"Prosper this realm : keep it from civil broils."—SHAKESPEARE

Masters : William Smith, 1601-1612 ; Robert Scott, 1612-1620 ; Thomas Paske, 1620-1645 ; Ralph Cudworth, 1650-1654 ; Theophilus Dillingham, 1654-1660 ; Thomas Paske, 1660-1661 ; Theophilus Dillingham, 1661-1673.

THE vacancy caused by Dr. Byng's death was not filled up for some considerable time, the Fellows being unable to agree in their choice of a successor. Eventually an appeal was made by some of the body to Sir Robert Cecil, the Chancellor, and he on March 24, 1601, appointed William Smith, a Fellow of King's College.

Dr. Smith presided over the fortunes of Clare for eleven years—from 1601 to 1612. In the latter year he was elected Provost of King's College, and was succeeded at Clare by Robert Scott. Dr. Scott was born at Bernerston, near Dunmew in Essex, and had been a Fellow of Trinity. He was sub-almoner to the King at the time of his election as Master of Clare, and was subsequently made Dean of Rochester.

It has already been mentioned that Elizabeth Worlyche founded a special scholarship at Clare in the middle of the sixteenth century, and attention was then

directed to the fact that it was a new departure. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the precedent thus set was repeated more than once, and became thenceforward the established rule. Whether it was the example set by the Countess of Sussex that stimulated generosity in other quarters also, we cannot say ; but the fact remains that within thirty years of her decease the College received benefactions at least equal in amount to the bequest which so narrowly escaped coming to Clare under the terms of her will.

The first addition to the original list of Fellowships was made by Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burghley and first Earl of Exeter, and the Countess Dorothy his wife.

He gave to the College a rent charge of £108 a year, and an indenture was drawn up between him and the Society upon July 4, 1612. Three Fellowships and eight Scholarships were established with some number of Sizarships ; two of the scholarships were called "Lady Exeter's Scholarships," although the Countess was dead before this indenture was signed. The Earl reserved to his son for life the right to nominate to these Fellowships and Scholarships ; and it was presumably in consequence of this that Exeter Fellows were at first excluded from a voice in the election of other Fellows or Scholars. This restriction was withdrawn in the middle of the century, for we find Exeter Fellows taking a part in elections from about 1660 onwards ; as the son died in 1640, we may infer that the last of his nominees had by 1660 ceased to be a Fellow upon this foundation. But, although they had thenceforward a voice in elections, they were

not in all respects on the same footing as the Fellows upon the old, or Lady Clare's, foundation, and the distinction between Fellows upon her foundation and those upon other foundations was always observed until the statutes of 1861 which substituted a new distinction of Senior and Junior Fellowships.

Some five years later, viz. about 1617, John Freeman, Esq., of Great Billing in Northamptonshire, bequeathed to the College the sum of £2000 for the support of two Fellows, eight Scholars, and two poor Scholars. In lieu of this sum, however, his executors, Edward Lord Gorges and Catherine his wife, daughter and heiress of the Founder, conveyed to the College estates of the same value at Risby and Tetney in Lincolnshire.

It appears that the executors had the right reserved to them of nominating the scholars upon this foundation. At any rate, Lord Gorges, in a letter of Dec. 3, 1656, claims in this capacity to nominate a candidate to one of these scholarships; but a note appended to the letter states that this was the last occasion upon which he did so, the College thenceforward disposing of them according to the covenants.

Several other scholarships were also founded about this same time. In 1602 * Thomas Cave gave to the College a moiety of the tithes of Warmfield in Yorkshire for the maintenance of two poor scholars from Wakefield Grammar School. Regulations with regard to these scholarships were drawn up in 1714, but it appears that there had been scholars upon this foundation previously.

* This appears to be the date from the old College Order Book, p. 4. We learn from it that his will was dated February 6, 1601-2.

Mr. William Marshall, and Mr. Ralph Scrivener, each founded a scholarship about this same time, and the Rev. Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, founded four exhibitions for scholars from Oakham and Uppingham Schools.

It remains to say a few words about some of the more distinguished members of the College during this period. A list of the Fellows in 1617, preserved in the College, gives us the following names :

Robert Scot, D.D., Dean of Rochester, Sub-almoner, now Master or Keeper.

Robert Bynge, M.A.	James Halsey, M.A.
Augustine Lindsell, M.A.	Theophilus Aylmer, M.A.
George Ruggle, M.A.	Robert Leach, M.A.
Thomas Winston, M.D.	William Mitford, M.A.
William Lakes, M.A.	John Carter, M.A.
Thomas Parkinson, M.A.	Rouland Grame, B.A.
Nicholas Ferrar, M.A.	Humphrey Henchman, M.A.
Samuel Lindsell, M.A.	Josia Mapleton, M.A.

Augustine Lindsell * was originally at Emmanuel, but migrated to Clare, where he became a Fellow. He vacated his Fellowship in 1620, and was appointed Dean of Lichfield in 1628; he was made Bishop of Peterborough in 1632, and of Hereford in March 1634, and died the following November. He was a good scholar and edited Theophylact's *Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. Paul*, but he is more interesting to us as the life-long friend of Nicholas Ferrar, who had been one of his pupils at Clare.

* I am indebted to Professor Mayor's edition of *Two Lives of Nicholas Ferrar* for some of the details upon this page, and for most of those in the life of Nicholas Ferrar. Baker's list of Fellows quoted by Professor Mayor is very inaccurate.

George Ruggle's name has already been mentioned in the chapter upon the College library; not only was he an excellent French, Spanish, and Italian scholar, but he was also famous as a writer of comedies; of these, however, we shall speak in the chapter upon Social Life. Ruffle was born in 1575 at Lavenham in Suffolk; he was first entered at St. John's, but subsequently removed to Trinity. He finally became a Fellow of Clare, in 1598, and continued to be a member of the Society till 1620, when he succeeded to some property and quitted his Fellowship. He died in September 1621. Besides his books, he also left some plate to the College and a hundred pounds for promoting the general purposes of the foundation.

Thomas Winston, born in 1575, took his M.A. degree in 1602; he subsequently studied at Padua, where he graduated M.D., and in 1608 was incorporated *ad eundem* in Cambridge. He was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and Professor of Physic in Gresham College from 1615 to 1642; after his death (in 1655) his anatomy lectures were published and are said to have formed a complete body of knowledge upon the subject. He was appointed (with *Nicholas Ferrar*) "supervisor of his will" by Ruffle.

*William Lakes** (or *Lake*) was another member of the Society, and played the part of *Trico* in Ruffle's comedy of *Ignoramus*, when performed before King James in 1615.

Next to be mentioned is *Nicholas Ferrar*, perhaps the most fascinating personality among all our Clare

* *William Lake* has been often wrongly identified with Sir *Thomas Lake*, Secretary of State, who probably was never at Clare.

celebrities. Nicholas Ferrar was born February 22, 1593. So remarkable was his precocity that his parents were persuaded to send him to College when only thirteen years old. There his abilities and his personal charm of manner combined to render him a general favourite, and we read that, after he had been a pensioner for his first year, "the Fellows would needs have him Fellow-commoner that he might be their companion," and that after taking his degree as Bachelor of Arts he was unanimously chosen Fellow at the next election.

It is clear that he was a man of unusual ability and learning, and the devotion of his family and his numerous friends is sufficient proof of his sweet and lovable nature.

The admiration and affection with which his tutor, Lindsell, regarded him to the end of his life, despite the reproofs which his pupil thought it his duty (!) to administer to him when he was in error, are quite touching: "God keep Nick," he would say, "in a right mind and way; for if he should turn schismatic or heretic he would make work for all the world; such a head, such a heart, such prevalent arguments he hath, . . . that I know not who will be able to grapple with him." And he frequently declared that "of all men he knew he would have him to be his confessor, and then he should be a happy man in such a thing."

The general esteem in which he was held by his associates in Clare is shown by the following entry taken from the College documents:

"also agreed that there should be given to Mr Ferrar late fellow with us the summe of £10, or a peece of plate to

that value in the name of the College, as a respect unto him at his departure."

At Cambridge he suffered greatly from the climate, and was recommended by Dr. Butler to try the effects of foreign travel. On his return to England, now restored to complete health, he at first proposed to devote himself to medicine in the University, but the age of his parents requiring his constant presence, he settled in London, where he soon afterwards became deputy to the Virginia Company and was returned to Parliament in 1624. In 1625, on the outbreak of the plague in London, the family removed to Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, which his mother (now a widow) had purchased the year before. There he spent the rest of his life, with his family gathered about him, in a sort of Protestant Retreat. The life at Little Gidding was devoted to the offices of piety and benevolence and to the production of concordances of the Scriptures. The fame of the first concordance of the Gospels reaching the King's ears, he begged the loan of it, and only consented to restore it upon condition that another like it should be made for himself, and when this was finished, he asked for and received a concordance of the books of Kings and Chronicles likewise.

Nicholas Ferrar's constitution can never have been a strong one, and his intense devotion to his religious duties, with incessant watchings and fastings, proved too great a strain, and he died at the early age of forty-five upon December 4, 1637.

George Herbert, the poet, was one of his warmest friends, and at his death he willed that *his brother Ferrar* (as he always called him) should publish, or

burn, his poems as he thought fit. As Barnabas Oley wrote the preface to Herbert's *Country Parson*, as well as a life of the author, Clare can claim to have had a conspicuous share in bringing before the notice of the world the works of one of our greatest theologian poets.

The name of *Humphrey Henchman* also occurs in the list. He was a *Freeman* Fellow, and we know from himself that his grandmother was a near relative of the Founder. He had ceased to be a Fellow in 1620, for his name does not appear in the list of Fellows when Paske, in that year, was elected Master. He is said to have assisted Charles II. to escape from the country after the battle of Worcester, and shortly after the Restoration he was made Bishop of Salisbury; two years later he was translated to the see of London, which he held for twelve years, till his death in 1675 at the age of eighty-three. He was also a Privy Councillor, and held the post of Almoner to King Charles II.* Baxter says of him at the Savoy conference that "*he, Gunning, and Cosin, were the only three who showed much insight in the Fathers and Councils; in this they were better than any of either party.*"† It is no small distinction to our College that two out of the three mentioned had been Fellows of it.

William Butler, the most celebrated physician of the day, was also for some time a Fellow of Clare, but he subsequently vacated his Fellowship.‡ He was born at

* Baker, MS. vol. ii. p. 152.

† See the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

‡ His name does not appear in the list of Fellows in 1617; the fellow-commoner of the same name in the time of Dr. Leeds' Mastership is probably to be identified with him.

Ipswich and died in his eighty-third year upon January 29, 1618. So great was his reputation that he was always known as "Dr. Butler," although he never took the M.D. degree. The University, however, granted him a licence to practise physic in October 1572. He was physician to James I., and attended Prince Henry in his last illness. Fuller (p. 306) calls him "*the Esculapius of our age*," and quotes part of the inscription upon his monument in Great St. Mary's Church. Above the inscription (or, to be more precise, the inscriptions) there is a bust of Butler with two figures, one on each side, which are said to represent respectively Labour and Rest. The monument was erected by his friend, the apothecary Crane, who in the inscription says, ". . . *Privata pietas statuit, quod debuit publica. Abi viator, et ad tuos reversus, narra te vidisse locum in quo SALUS jacet.*"

He was a very eccentric man, and many stories of his extraordinary treatment of his patients are quoted from Aubrey by Cooper (*Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 119-124), but the reader is warned that he must not be squeamish; the following are some of the best of them.

It is said that he was first brought to the King's notice by the singular way in which he cured a parson who was to have preached before his Majesty, and who was so nervous at the prospect that he could not sleep till he took opium. It appears that he took an overdose and Dr. Butler was called in to try and save him:

"when he came & sawc the parson, and asked what they had donne, he told his wife that she was in danger to be hanged for killing her husband, and so in great choler left her; it was at that time when the cowes came into the

backside to be milkt ; he turnes back, and asked whose cowes these were, she sayd her husband's. Sayd he, ' Will you give one of these cowes to fetch your husband to life again ? ' That she would with all her heart. He then causes one presently to be killed and opened, and the parson to be taken out of his bed and putt into the cowes warme belly, which after some time brought him to life, or else he had infallibly dyed."

On one occasion, when a Frenchman came from London to Cambridge on purpose to see him,

" he made him stay two houres for him in his gallery, and then he comes out to him in an old blew gowne. The French Gentleman makes him 2 or 3 very lowe bowes downe to the ground ; Dr Butler whippes his legge over his head, and away goes into his chamber, and did not speake with him."

Once more :

" The Dr lyeing at the Savoy in London, next the water side where was a balcony look t into the Thames, a patient came to him that was grievously tormented with an ague. The Dr orders a boate to be in readinesse under his windowe, and discoursed with the patient (a gent.) in the balcony, when on a signall given, 2 or 3 lusty fellowes came behind the gent. and threw him a matter of 20 feete into the Thames. This surprize absolutely cured him."

At his death, Dr. Butler left the bulk of his property to his friend, John Crane. He did not, however, forget his College. He gave us our three oldest pieces of plate, known respectively as the "Poison Cup," the "Falcon Cup,"* and the "Serpentine Cup," as well as £260 for

* This is not mentioned in his will, and must have been given during his lifetime.

a gold Chalice to be used at the Communion Service in the College Chapel. Besides these he left books to the library.

A particular brew was known in the time of Charles II. as *Dr. Butler's ale*; and it is only in harmony with his general eccentricity if (as we may perhaps infer from this name) he applied his scientific knowledge to the improvement of the national beverage. Whether the recipe is still preserved I do not know.

Besides these we may perhaps mention *Arthur Capel*, who was raised to the Peerage by Charles I. as *Lord Capel*, and distinguished himself in the civil war. He was beheaded in 1649 by the Parliamentary party. It is not certain that he was educated in Clare, but his gift to the building fund may be urged in support of the statement that he was one of Dr. Paske's pupils.

Dr. Scott died in London on December 21, 1620; the vacancy in the Mastership was announced the next day, and on December 31st Thomas Paske, B.D., was elected to succeed him.

Dr. Paske was a Cambridge man. Unlike so many of his predecessors in the Mastership, he was admitted to Clare as an undergraduate, and became in due course a Fellow of the Society.* He must, however, have subsequently resigned his Fellowship, for his name does not appear in the list of Fellows in 1617 (quoted above), nor was he a Fellow at the time of his election as Master.

As a Tutor he had been famous. Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy* (part ii. p. 141), says of him:

* Harleian MS. 7047, p. 269.

"It will, perchance, be thought no contemptible evidence of his great worth, that 3 Bishops, 4 Privy-Councillors, Two Judges and 3 Doctors of Physick, all of which had been his Pupils in the University, came in one day to pay him a visit."

Several of these pupils may perhaps be identified among the distinguished Clare men already mentioned in these pages; but it may well be that some of them were members of the College only after Paske became Master, and were not, therefore, in the strict sense of the word, his *pupils*; otherwise, we fear that we must have inadvertently overlooked some who should have found a place in this history.

The prospects of the College could hardly have looked brighter than they did when Paske became Master of it. True, the College had recently lost in Dr. Butler one of its most conspicuous members, and George Ruggle had already ceased to be a Fellow, and died before the year was out. Nicholas Ferrar, too, was no longer a permanent resident in Cambridge, and Lindsell must have left soon after this time. But, with Wheelock, Love, and others left, it was a Society that any man might have been proud to preside over. Yet, bright as the prospects looked, Dr. Paske and his Society were doomed to fall upon evil days, as the sequel will show. For the present, however, all went well; the College prospered despite the dilapidated condition of its buildings, and when the Society at last resolved to undertake the work of restoration, they were fortunate in finding in Barnabas Oley a man eminently fitted by his activity, his devotion, and his business capacity to carry it out with energy and success.

The troubles began in Clare, as they did throughout the University, with the outbreak of hostilities between the King and the Parliament. It might have been thought that, if any place, an ancient seat of learning should have been spared the miseries of war; and we must give the Parliamentary party, which was predominant in these parts of England, the credit of attempting to save the University at least from actual violence, as the following letters in the College library show:

"Theis are to will require and comand you and everie
of you, to forbear (under any pretence whatsoever) to
prejudice, or offer any damage to the University of Cam-
bridge, or to any the Schooles Colledges, Halls, Libraries
Chappells or other places belonging to the said University ;
by plundeing the same, or any part thereof in any kind
whatsoever. Whereof faile not as you will answeare the
contrarie at yo' perills. Given under my hand and seale
this Seaventh daie of March 1642 ESSEX."

“ To all Colonells Leivetent^t Colonells, Captaines and all other officers and souldiers of the Armie under my co^mand.”

"These are to Charge and require you upon sight hereof
not to Quarter any Officers or Souldiers on any the
Colledges Halls or other howses belonging to the Univers-
itie of Cambridge, nor to offer any iniurie or violence to
any of the Students or Members of any of the Colledges
or howses of the said Universitie as you shall answer
y^e Contrarie at yo perill. Given under my hand & seale
this first of July 1652. O. CROMWELL."

"To all officers & souldiers
und' my coīmand & others whome
it may concerne."

But the Societies had to be reformed. Those Fellows who refused to subscribe to *the covenant*, or appear at the bidding of the Earl of Manchester, were summarily removed from their Fellowships; yet it is fair to add that liberty was allowed to the Fellows to make objections to those who were put in the place of those ejected, on the score of their learning or piety; but how far these objections were rendered nugatory by the bias of those to whom they were addressed we cannot say. In the College Letter Book we find two copies of this order, which are substantially identical; the fuller form runs:

“ordered

“That if any pson or ps ons nominated by this Com^{tee} may bee iustly excepted against as to theire Piety or Learning That the heads or ffellowes of houses in either of the Universities whereunto the said pson or ps ons are nominated, knowing such excepcon doe certify the same forthwth to this Com^{tee} before y^e settlem^l of any such pson or ps ons.”

A copy of this order seems to have been sent with each *mandamus*.

Nor must we overlook the notices sent in 1644* (presumably to all the Colleges of the University alike) in the name of the Earl of Manchester. The points complained of are “adoration towards the East,” and ceremonies in divine service “not warranted by Law,” absence from College, and the payment of dividends without regard to the settlement of the debts incurred by the College. How far all or any of these charges could be substantiated it is useless to speculate; but

* Preserved in the College Letter Book.

it is not unreasonable to suppose that, arbitrary as the proceedings appear, some justification for such interference may nevertheless be found in the negligence of the Societies themselves.

We know from the notes in the College Admission Book that at least seven of the Fellows were ejected in 1644,* and we may infer from a letter from Tillotson that another was also put out at the same time.

Their ejection was followed by that of the Master himself the next year.† This was bad enough, but worse was to follow ; the College was actually left without any Head for many years, although it is true that this was its misfortune, and not the fault of the Committee. Upon April 22, 1645, the Society was required, by virtue of a warrant from Lord Manchester, to admit Mr. Spurstowe of St. Catharine's as Master, but the note in the Admission Book adds, "he never came." Again, upon May 13 of the same year a like warrant directed the Society to admit Mr. Ralph Cudworth of Emmanuel, the well-known author of the *Intellectual System of the Universe*. Cudworth did, it is true, finally decide to accept the post, but it was not till December 1650 that he did so, and during these years our unhappy College was left with no directing hand, with many of its best and most experienced Fellows removed, and perhaps one (or more) of the Fellowships left, like the Mastership, vacant. No wonder that chaos ensued, and that the task of fully

* One of the eight mentioned in the Admission Book was not ejected till 1650. 63 Fellows of Colleges in all were ejected upon April 8, 1644 (Cooper, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 374), for non-appearance on the Earl of Manchester's summons.

† In 1644, Cooper (*Ibid.* p. 375) ; but 1645 is the date in the Admission Book.

unravelling the story of these years is now quite beyond our power.

Dr. Ralph Cudworth held the Mastership for barely four years; in November 1654 he was transferred to the Mastership of Christ's College. He was no *alumnus* of Clare, and was not even chosen by free election to be its Head; we have therefore no right to lay any claim to him, despite his undoubtedly high reputation as the author of a system of philosophy.

Upon Cudworth's withdrawal, Theophilus Dillingham, a Fellow of Sidney College, was elected in his place, November 13, 1654. Although he was only elected by a bare majority of the Fellows, the event showed the wisdom of the choice. He married Dr. Paske's daughter, and proved himself as admirable a Head of the College as his father-in-law. But before entering upon the events of his Mastership it may be well to present in as concentrated a form as possible all that we know about the changes which took place among the Fellows during the civil war and under the Commonwealth.

In the College Admission Book it is recorded that eight Fellows were ejected in 1644* (of whom four were afterwards restored), viz.: Barnabas Oley (restored in 1660); George Carter; John Hickman; Peter Gunning (restored in 1660); John Heaver (restored in 1660); Simon Potter (restored in 1660); Edward Byng; Thomas Fabian. In their places there were admitted, by virtue of a warrant from Lord Manchester (April 25, 1645), S^r Pendocke and S^r Fowler, both of Emmanuel, and (May 5, 1645) Mr. Henry Holcroft, S^r Clarkson and S^r Palmer.

* Simon Potter, however, was not ejected till 1650.

† Viz., *Sophister*.

We possess various letters from Tillotson on the subject of these Fellowships, and from them and other sources we may with considerable certainty suggest the table on the opposite page.*

Most of these changes have no particular interest for us now, except, in the aggregate, as a proof of the extent to which the Society was reorganised. But the subsequent celebrity of Gunning and Tillotson warrant us in supposing that the reader will be interested in the following attempt to disentangle all the statements and theories on the subject which may be found in Birch's *Life of Tillotson* and elsewhere.

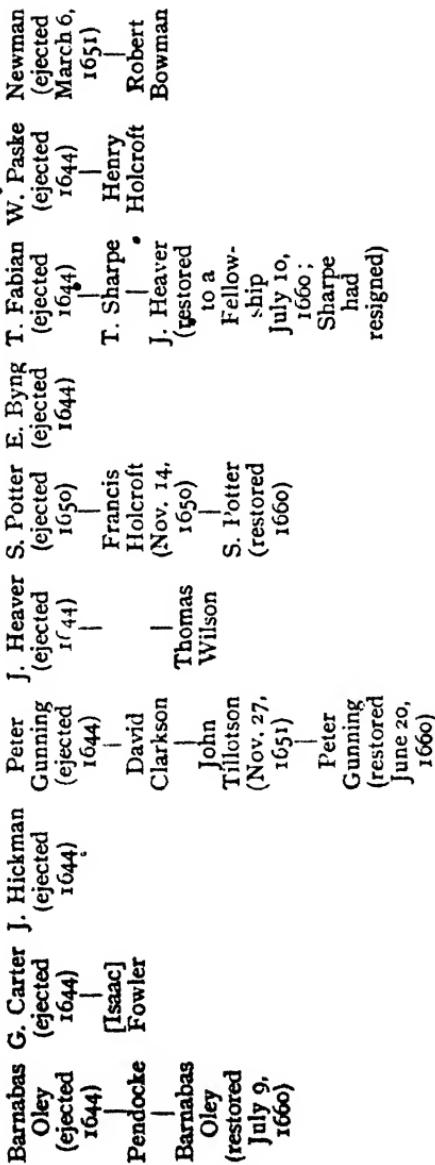
The quotations will be easier to follow if we commence by stating the conclusions to which they appear unmistakably to lead.

It appears, then, that Peter Gunning was ejected in 1644 and succeeded by David Clarkson by *mandamus*. Tillotson was elected by *mandamus* to a probationary Fellowship, November 14, 1650, and, November 27, 1651, upon Clarkson's retirement, by an election of the Society, to the Fellowship in which the latter had succeeded Gunning six years before.

In the appendix to Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, contributed by John Beardmore, a former sizar of the College (admitted April 7, 1651), who claims to have been Tillotson's first pupil there, the writer says:

“Tho he was Probationer to a Fellowship in 1651 (which

* It will be seen that one of the Fellows by *mandamus* (Palmer) has not been inserted in this list; he may have replaced either J. Hickman, J. Heaver, or E. Byng, but which of them we cannot say. We learn only incidentally from a letter of Tillotson that W. Paske had been ejected; but the date is fixed by the mention of H. Holcroft's election in his place in 1645.



I think was by *mandamus* from the higher powers) yet he was not actually admitted into a Fellowship of [for?] some considerable time, but lived at his own charge. At length two Fellowships being declared void, he was received into one of them, and one Mr Newee (who also had lived as Probationer) was taken into the other."

The date of Tillotson's election to a probationary Fellowship is settled by the statement in the Admission Book that Francis Holcroft was his "chamber-fellow" and "made Fellow of the College the same day with him," for the order from the Committee for the reformation of the Universities to admit Francis Holcroft is dated November 14, 1650.

It is in harmony with this hypothesis that, when the same Committee appointed Mr. Robert Bowman in place of Mr. Newman (March 6, 1651), the Society petitioned (although ineffectually) that Tillotson might be appointed instead.

Lastly Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson* (p. 4), says that he succeeded to the Fellowship held by his old tutor, David Clarkson, on his quitting College, and Tillotson himself says that he "thinks that he is in Mr. Gunning's Fellowship." His letter to Dr. Dillingham, the Master (dated June 15, 1660), is interesting, and deserves to be quoted in full:

"Honor^d Sir

I entreate that favor^d of yoⁿ that if the Dividend bee made up yoⁿ would bee pleas'd to pay to Mr Wilson * w^t is due to mee. It is very probable Mr Gunning will

* Wilson was deprived of his Fellowship a few weeks later, but managed to recover it. He appears to have succeeded, after some intermediate holder, to the Fellowship of J. Heaver.

resume his fellowship in w^{ch} I thinke I am; whatever become of that I shall ever bee ready to serve the interest of the Colledge to my power. The Com̄mentators are now come forth if S^r Orlando Bridgman bee not otherwise gratifyed † I thinke they will bee a convenient present and will bring their excuse wth them for so long a delay. I cannot now come at y^e booke wherin my acc^{ts} are but I rememb my selfe to bee indebted to y^e Coll: about 4^u for money rec^d here more then expended, yo^u may bee pleas'd to reserve so much till I send an Acc^t to yo^u. The King is resolv'd upon (?) a conference at Hampton Court betwixt y^e Episcopate and Presbyt. Divines, 12 of each, & himselfe will hold y^e chayre; I hope something will bee done towards an Accoīnodacō; Dr Reynolds & Mr Calamy are to nominate 10 more to y^{ms}elves for y^t party, they 2 and Mr Manto are sworne Chaplains to his Majesty

I am

S^r yo^r faithfull friend

& humble serv

Jo. TILLOTSON."

The subsequent eminence of Tillotson, "the incomparable Archbishop of Canterbury," has kept alive many little bits of gossip about the life of the Society in those days which would otherwise have been certainly forgotten; there were others, too, besides Tillotson, then residing in the College, whose life and character are full of interest—notably Francis Holcroft and David

† Sir Orlando Bridgman, the celebrated conveyancing barrister, had done the College good service over the acquisition of Mr. Diggons' bequest, as we shall see later on. This present of books was made; Barnabas Oley (writing April 8, 1661) says: "I wayted on S^r Orlando Bridgma . . . he is very thankfull to yo^u and y^e Coll for the Books."

Clarkson—not to speak of others just before or after this time.

It goes, of course, without saying, that the pervading tone was in the direction of Puritanism. Of the three Fellows mentioned, two at least were admitted by special *mandamus*, and even if Tillotson was made a Fellow by a free election, yet his parentage and his associations in Clare could hardly fail to give him that bias in the same direction for which he was afterwards so much criticised.

David Clarkson was, as we have seen, admitted a Fellow of Clare with Henry Holcroft upon May 5, 1645; he continued to reside for some six years, among his pupils being Tillotson, who succeeded him in his Fellowship. He then accepted the perpetual curacy of Mortlake, but was ejected in 1662, and after wandering from one retreat to another for twenty years, united with Dr. John Owen as pastor of an independent church in London. He was the author of many controversial writings, and was a man of some note in his day. His wife was a daughter of Sir Henry Holcroft, doubtless the father of the Henry and Francis Holcroft who were Fellows about the same time with him. He died in 1686.

Francis Holcroft was admitted June 24, 1647. He was chamber-fellow of Tillotson in Clare, and was elected (as we have said) to a Fellowship on the same day with him. He was a noted preacher among the Independents, and (according to the College tradition) used to address the people in King's College Chapel yard from the window of his rooms in the south-east corner of the new building, which was popularly nicknamed *Roundhead*.

Corner. He was ejected from his Fellowship in 1660, and from his living of Bassingbourne a little later. Soon afterwards he was thrown into Cambridge gaol for illegal preaching about the country, although with singular inconsistency he was allowed to visit his congregations.

He was subsequently released, but we soon afterwards find him again in prison—this time in the Fleet, for debt. It is pleasant to read that in both his imprisonments he found a generous friend in his old College companion, Tillotson. Towards the end of his life his health gave way ; he became a prey to melancholia, and died half crazy in 1693.

He had preached in almost every village in Cambridgeshire, and was the chief promoter of Independency in the county.

John Tillotson was the eldest son of a clothier of Halifax, a man who entertained strong Calvinistic views. The son entered Clare as a pensioner at the age of seventeen, being admitted April 23, 1647, as pupil to Dr. Clarkson. His College associations must have confirmed the impressions of his childhood ; his judgment was, indeed, too sober to mislead him into the lengths to which his College companion Holcroft was carried, but it was doubtless these surroundings and influences which developed in him the breadth of view which characterised him in after life, and which forms so marked and pleasing a contrast to the general intolerance of his times. It is hardly surprising in an age when religious differences provoked so much bitterness, that stories should subsequently be circulated to the discredit of the Archbishop, ascribing to him violent partisanship with the Roundheads. It was said that when King Charles

was at Childerley, Tillotson was expressly excluded from the privilege to which the other scholars were admitted of kissing his Majesty's hand; that he was made a Fellow by *mandamus* from the Rump; that the corner of the new buildings which he occupied with his pupils was commonly known as *Roundhead Corner*; worse still, that after the battle of Worcester he inserted in the College grace after the words *laudamus te pro benefactoribus nostris*, the addition *praecepsim pro nupera victoria contra Carolum Stuartum in agro Wigorniensi reportata*; and that he used his influence with the party in power to domineer over the Society.

In reply to these insinuations it must be observed, however, that for the nickname of *Roundhead Corner* the practices of the eccentric Holcroft were amply sufficient to account. The other stories may be unhesitatingly rejected as being not only inconsistent with what we know of Tillotson's character, but also at variance with the information to be derived from the College volume of letters. Nothing can exceed the cordiality of tone which pervades Tillotson's letters to the Society. The story of the insertion in the College grace must have been fabricated by some one who was unacquainted with it, as the addition at that place would make sheer nonsense.

Tillotson left the College in 1656 or 1657, and accepted a post as private tutor to the son of Edmund Prideaux,* Attorney-General to the Protector, and in

* Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, was a relative of Edmund Prideaux. Tillotson was his friend, and it was probably due to Tillotson that he sent his son Edmund Prideaux to Clare, and so came to leave to our library his valuable collection of Oriental books.

it capacity was enabled to secure for the College the important concession from Cromwell already mentioned in the chapter upon the College Buildings. Besides the letters here quoted, the College library possesses nearly two dozen more from him; they contain many little scraps of town news about the time of Cromwell's death, but are mainly interesting to us for the light which they throw on the acquisition of the lands at Lisse, Braintree and Mile End, which were left (in 1657) to the College by Joseph Diggons, a former member of it.

Beardmore says that Diggons had formerly been Fellow-Commoner of Clare, that he was "a very humoursome person" and had "taken disgust against some of his own relations," and that Tillotson prevailed upon him to leave £300 per annum to the College. The amount, however, is evidently an exaggeration. Tillotson's letters on the subject mention frequent interviews with Sir Orlando Bridgeman* and others about the property, and he evidently spared himself no trouble to secure the interests of the Society in the matter. The property was left "for the maintenance and allowances of so many new fellows and scholars as in the good discretion of the Master President and Scholars of Clare Hall shall be thought fitting." In consequence of this bequest two new Fellowships and four new Scholarships were founded in 1659.

Tillotson retained his Fellowship, despite his non-residence; the following letter, however, written to Dr. Dillingham, the Master, on June 24, 1659, shows that his rooms there had been disposed of to another

* See footnote p. 117 above.

tenant. The reader cannot fail to be struck by the simple words in which the writer expresses his affection for his old College. He writes:

"S^r

"I understand y^t my Chamber is dispos'd of to S^r Vincent; * I know not how y^e case stands as to my fellowship, otherwise, I should thinke y^e chamber were mine; if it bee not too late I should desire y^t when y^e Colledge thinke fitt I should quitt my fellowship or chamber, I may have notice of it, y^t so I may fairly leave y^m and have no temptation to draw mee away frō studying (according to my meanes) y^e happiness of a place I love so well."

As already mentioned four of the ejected Fellows, viz., Peter Gunning, Barnabas Oley, John Heaver, and Simon Potter, were reinstated in their Fellowships at the Restoration. Tillotson was removed to make way for Gunning, and, if we are to believe Beardmore, the latter exerted his influence with the Society to cast this slight upon Tillotson, through a personal pique, although he knew that he was to be elected the very next day to the Mastership of Corpus, vacant by the death† of Richard Love. He told the Society to "let justice be done first, and then, if they were minded to do Mr. Tillotson a favour, they might do that afterward." This was certainly not generous; but we may

* Nathaniel Vincent, admitted January 18, 1653, a man of whom more hereafter.

† This is a slip. Dr. Love died in January 1661. He vacated the Mastership of Corpus in 1660, when he became Dean of Ely, to which post he was instituted September 6, 1660. How Gunning's Fellowship was filled up after his appointment to the Mastership of Corpus we do not know.

well make allowances for a man who had suffered as Gunning had.

That perfect harmony should have reigned in the College, even before this restoration of ejected members of the Society, between the Fellows who were still left in undisturbed possession of their places and those who were forced upon them by *mandamus* from outside, is too much to expect of human nature. Doubtless the ejected Fellows had friends among the few who were allowed to remain, and the latter could not view the new admissions with very friendly feelings. Yet Tillotson at least appears to have commanded universal respect; of Dr. James Jackson, Senior Fellow of the Society, in particular, we are told that he "ever gave a fair respect to him," and Tillotson fully reciprocated the feeling; in many of his letters he specially sends his humble service to Dr. Jackson, and in one he adds "whose civilities to me I must never forget." But Dr. James Jackson was an exceptional man, one of those whom to know is to love, and received affectionate messages in many letters from other members of the Society as well as Tillotson.

It may perhaps be thought that too much has been said in these pages about Tillotson; yet we feel that we should be the poorer by the loss of any of the letters which have been quoted, for they show us a great man in his private relations to the foundation at which he had received his education. The attention of the world has hitherto been centred mainly upon Tillotson in his public capacity, as an archbishop and a statesman. We have attempted to represent him in his private capacity, as a member and a benefactor of our own

Society. If the letters cited have thrown any fresh light upon his character as such, or have waked in our own hearts any echo of his devotion, amid wider cares, to the interests of his College, they will not have been cited in vain.

But we must not be misled by the interest attaching to Tillotson into forgetting Dr. Dillingham, the new Master; we will now proceed to say what befell him in these days of change.

As might have been expected, the Master who had been ejected by the Parliamentary party was restored with the ejected Fellows. He accepted with reluctance, and after holding office for a few months resigned again, in March 1661; whereupon Dr. Dillingham was re-elected, apparently by the unanimous voice of the Society.

Dr. Paske must have been now quite an old man, as he had been chosen Master in the first instance forty years before. Dr. Dillingham had married his daughter and was evidently thoroughly acceptable to the Fellows; we can therefore well understand the letter which he wrote, upon August 2, 1660, to the Earl of Manchester, declaring that he did not desire re-election, but preferred that his successor should be left in undisturbed possession. His objections must have been overruled, but, as we have seen, he was permitted to resign after holding office for a few months; and thenceforward Dr. Dillingham continued to be Master without interruption till his death in November 1678.

We will conclude this chapter with a brief notice of some of the more distinguished members of the College during this long period. Before doing so, however, we

must mention the foundation of another Fellowship. In 1636 John Borage, a former scholar, made over a rent charge of £15 a year for the foundation of a Fellowship confined to natives of Norfolk and tenable for five years from the time of taking the M.A. degree.

This was what was technically known as a *By-Fellowship*. By-Fellows had no voice in the government of a College being merely entitled to live in it and draw their stipends. Shortly after the foundation of this Fellowship, we find one of the holders promoted to another Fellowship; but this was never repeated, it being subsequently held that a By-Fellow was ineligible for preferment.

Among distinguished members of the College we may mention the following:

*Dr. Richard Love** was a native of Cambridge and was born December 1596; his name does not appear in the list of Fellows in 1617, but he was one of the electors when Dr. Paske became Master in 1620. He was a chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles I., and the King wrote an autograph letter on his behalf on April 2, 1632, recommending him for the Mastership of Corpus College, to which he was accordingly elected. From 1649 to 1661 he was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. He resigned the Mastership of Corpus in 1660, and was instituted Dean of Ely on September 6 of the same year. He died in the following January. His son-in-law, Archbishop Tenison, presented a portrait of him to Corpus College, of which the portrait in our College hall is a copy.

* Cooper, *Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 491, 492.

Dr. Love seems to have been a good scholar; he contributed to almost every set of verses published by the University during the time that he was a member of it.

Abraham Wheelock (or *Whelock*), B.D., was born about 1593 in the parish of Whitchurch, in Salop. He was a member of Trinity College when he contributed to the collection of verses published by the University upon the death of the Queen in 1619; but he became a Fellow of Clare soon after this, as he was one of those who voted for Paske as Master in the following year. He was one of the best linguists of his day in the University; not only did he contribute to the collections of verses published by the University on more than one occasion, but he was also a distinguished Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, and Persian scholar. When Thomas Adams (afterwards Sir Thomas Adams) founded the Professorship of Arabic in 1632, Wheelock was the first holder of the chair, and he continued to be the Professor of Arabic till his death in 1653. He had already been appointed University Librarian in 1629, another post which he held for life. When Sir Henry Spelman (in 1640) established a Saxon lectureship in the University, Wheelock was the first (and only) lecturer. Lastly, we are told that at the time of his death he was engaged in publishing the four Gospels, with a commentary, in Persian. He died in September 1653, and was buried on the 25th at St. Botolph's, Aldgate. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. William Slater; attached to it is an encomium from which many of these details have been obtained. Whether he was ever a Fellow of Trinity I do not

know, but Sclater says that he was "many years Fellow of Clare Hall." From the letters quoted by Baker we gather that he was married early in 1632, which would of course compel him to vacate his Fellowship. His wife was a widow, Clemence Goad; and by her he had one son, also called Abraham, and four daughters.

Dr. Peter Gunning was born in 1614 at Hoo in Kent; after receiving his early education at the King's School, Canterbury, he was entered at Clare, of which he became a Fellow in 1635. He was an ardent Royalist, and according to his own statement was "expelled the University of Cambridge for preaching a sermon in St. Mary's against the covenant, as well as for refusing the covenant." The date is given as May 1, 1643;* but this seems to be the date of the sermon, as the College Admission Book shows that he was ejected in 1644.

He was replaced in his Fellowship, as we have seen, at the Restoration, and created D.D. by a *mandamus* of June 21, 1660.† He succeeded Dr. Richard Love as Master of Corpus in the same year, and as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in 1661. In this latter year he was promoted to the Regius Professorship of Divinity, and to the Mastership of St. John's College. He took a prominent part in the Savoy conference on the Episcopalian side, was appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1669, translated to the see of Ely in 1675, and died in 1684. It is, however, as the composer of the

* Cooper, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 375, *footnote*.

† Cooper, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 481. As the letter enjoining his restoration to his Fellowship is dated June 20, possibly we have here the source of Beardmore's statement that he was to be elected Master of Corpus the next day.

“Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men,” that he is probably most interesting now to the general public.

His character has been variously represented by different writers according to the views of each. He was undoubtedly a man of learning and ability, but his violence against Nonconformity and his treatment of Tillotson are serious blots upon his character.

An undated letter of Barnabas Oley in the College library about Gunning is interesting and extracts from it are worth quoting.

We may, I think, assume that it was written about 1640, when Gunning was twenty-six. The Earl of Exeter to whom it is addressed appears to be David,* son of Sir Richard Cecil (second son of our benefactor), who succeeded his uncle as Earl of Exeter in that year. After congratulating him upon the dignity to which he had succeeded, the writer speaks of “the virtues and piety w^{ch} I observed in you when you lived in Clare Hall amongst us,” and of the “common duty of right and justice to be performed from our Society to the Earles of Exetour as heires of a pious benefactour and founder.”

He then proceeds :

“There is a third motion w^{ch} drew^s me to write so boldly unto your Lordship and it is the late enquiry made by your Honour for a Clare Hall man to serve you in your family noe small argument of your constant affection to your ancient mother if I may soe call it.

* Burke's *Peerage*. I have found no further indication that he was educated at Clare, but he seems to be the only Earl of Exeter who could have been there with Oley. Cooper (*Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. i.) mentions the first Earl of Exeter among distinguished members of Clare, but this appears doubtful.

"I will not out of affection wrong your Lordship but I should wrong the Colledge if I did not professe that there are in it as able men at this time as ever was since I knew it both for eminency of Learning and exemplary piety of Life and conversation and so as fitt to serve your honour as any of any other Colledge in either Universitie (and by name, the man your Honour heard of, Mr. Gunning, inferiour to none of his time in all the Universities of Brittaine, or of farther extent)"

Barnabas Oley, to whose exertions we chiefly owe our present College buildings, was born in 1602 at Wakefield. After receiving his early education at the grammar school of the town, he entered Clare, of which he became a Fellow in 1623.

In 1633 he was presented by his College to the living of Great Gransden in Huntingdonshire, which he held thenceforward till the time of his death, more than fifty years later.

He was evidently a man of some mark in the University, for when the Colleges devoted their plate to the King's cause in 1642, it was he who headed the party commissioned to convey it to the royal camp at Nottingham.* Besides this he took charge during those stormy years of the gold communion plate and the cups given to the College, as we have already related, by Dr. Butler, and kept them safely till they were resumed by the Society.

* A few years ago the Rev. Dr. Cooper Smith generously presented to the College a most interesting old tankard, with our College arms upon it, which had come into his possession. It may have been one of the pieces sent on this occasion to the King, but it is also possible that it was one of those sold by order of the Society to raise funds for rebuilding the College.

He was ejected April 8, 1644,* from his Fellowship by the Earl of Manchester for non-residence, and for neglecting to appear before his commission. Although he was never formally deprived of his vicarage, he was subjected to such molestation that he was forced to quit it, and for nearly seven years he wandered in disguise through the country, exposed to many privations.

At the Restoration he recovered his Fellowship, and was soon afterwards made a Prebend of Worcester, and in 1679 he became Archdeacon of Ely upon the nomination of Bishop Gunning, who had formerly been his pupil in Clare.

He resigned this post, however, the following year, on the plea of inability to discharge its duties. He died on February 20, 1686, at the advanced age of eighty-four.†

Barnabas Oley did not confine his activity as a builder to his own College; he also built a vicarage at Great Gransden, almshouses for five poor persons and a brick school-house, besides improving the Church. By his will he left the perpetual advowson of the vicarage of Warmfield with lands in Great Gransden and Little Gransden, and a school-house and five almshouses in Great Gransden, in trust for charitable purposes; the Master and eight Senior Fellows, with the vicars of Great Gransden and Everton for the time being, are the present trustees. Besides other legacies he left 100 marks (as already mentioned) towards a library in Clare.

He had before this directed (September 16, 1656)

* He left the College before this, viz., in February 1643.

† Cole (from whose account, based upon Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part ii. p. 141, the above details have been mainly drawn) says that he might have received a Bishopric had he not been too modest to apply for one.

that £100 due to him from the College* should be paid over to the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of King's College within seven years of his death, requesting their acceptance of it,

“as a Testimony of his good affectiō and due respecte to Kings Coll., and as a Compensation for any Detriment y^t Colledge susteined by parting wth y^t part of Butt Close wth Clarehall now holdeth of them by Lease and as a mean to perpetuate Love & amitie betwixt Kings Coll & Clarehall.”

Besides this peace offering, he also directed that £10 more, likewise due to him from the College, should be given “to Kings Coll. Groomes or the children of such groomes as suffered most losse by y^e grasse of Butt Close being taken frō them, & parted wth to Clarehall.” The latter sum was paid in 1661 (to Francis Crosby and John Cowin), and early in 1675, Oley having expressed a desire to see the other amount paid before his death, the Master and Fellows agreed to comply with his wishes, and, as the Provost and Fellows of King's preferred to expend it on the stalls in the choir of their Chapel to any of the other objects suggested by the donōr, it was paid for that purpose on May 17, 1675.† A gift of £10, in his will, to the descendants of John Westley, “that good workman that built the Colledge,” on the ground that his departure from the College might have been pre-

* Barnabas Oley had deposited £350 in the hands of the College as a security for “Mr. Butler's gold chalice.” This was the last instalment of the sum due upon its restoration.

† Cole says that he gave £100 during his lifetime to the stalls in King's Chapel, and left £50 at his death to the Junior Fellows of King's, the wall of the bowling-green near the river being built with it.

judicial to him in his account, deserves mention as being characteristic of the donor.

Besides editing George Herbert's *Country Parson*, he also edited a work on the Creed by Dr. Jackson, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, an abridgment of which has been recently brought out by the Oxford University Press. He never published any work of his own, but the numerous letters from him which are preserved in the College library are probably of more lasting and genuine interest than any formal treatise could have been. A writer, quoted by Walker, calls him "a *saint-like* man," and truly he deserved the title if any man ever did.

John Heaver has already come under our notice. He was admitted August 20, 1635, under the name *Havers* (by which he is also called elsewhere), but upon what grounds we cannot imagine, as a note adds, "he wrote his name Heaver." He became a Fellow in 1642, was ejected in 1644, and was one of the four Fellows restored in 1660. Soon after this he became a Fellow of Eton and Canon of Windsor, and died in 1670. Four or five of his letters have been preserved, and give us some information of interest; we learn that he was required on August 27, 1661, to go with Sir Richard Fanshaw to Portugal in connection with King Charles's marriage with Catherine of Braganza. The following summer he wrote two letters to Dr. Dillingham, in which he claims his Fellowship dividends to Lady Day 1662, on the ground that he did not receive the emoluments of his new preferments till then, although he had been appointed to them before that date.

His description of the two posts in question is quaint:

“I cannot tell w^t may be expected from Windsor & Eton (great names) y^e former had a good fleece, but y^e sheep was shorne before my coming, all but y^e taile.” We have a pleasant little insight into the Dillingham family :

“I congratulate you” (he writes), “as you doe me in my new preferrments, in your new son, & wish you may be as happy in him, as he is sure to be in such a Father” :

and again

“I rejoice in y^e good health of our ffrinds at Hadham,* to whome my humble service & am unsatisfied till I have leisure to doe my duty in wayting upon them w^{ch} I shall endeavour upon y^e first occasion.”

He was a man of great generosity, and devoted to the College ; he returned half the profits of his Fellowship for the last year to be added to the building fund, entreating the Master “to accept his small offering as an earnest of his affection to Clare hall, till he should be able to express it more fully.” This he did in his will, by which he left £700 more to the same fund.

Of the other members of the College at this time the most interesting is Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charterhouse in 1685. He is said to have given great offence to orthodoxy by his interpretation of the book of Genesis, a popular ballad representing him as saying “that all the books of Moses were nothing but supposes.”

* Dr. Paske was Rector of Hadham, in Herts. He and Mrs. Paske were still living when Heaver's letter of July 26, 1662, was written, although the former died early in the following autumn.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLLEGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

"We see what a confluence of nobility and gentry the virtue of one man daily draws to one of our least Colleges."—COLBATCH (*Commemoration Sermon at Trinity*).

Masters : Samuel Blythe, 1678-1713; William Grigg, 1713-1726; Charles Morgan, 1726-1736; John Wilcox, 1736-1762; Peter Stephen Goddard, 1762-1781.

DR. BLYTHE, perhaps the greatest benefactor to the College after the Foundress, was elected to the Mastership upon the death of Dr. Dillingham in 1678. The votes upon the occasion have not been preserved, and we may assume that the election was a hurried one, as we find in the Admission Book a note by Dr. Goddard (a subsequent Master) against the name of Nathaniel Vincent, who had been admitted in 1653, which states that

"on the death of Dr Dillingham He endeavoured to be made Master by a mandamus, but was disappointed by the Society's chusing Dr Blyth before he could serve them with it." *

* This precipitation will account for the failure of the project to elect Barnabas Oley. The Society evidently could not wait when their letter to him miscarried. Writing to Dr. Blythe some two

As the reader may perhaps be entertained by the language in which Dr. Goddard speaks of this former Fellow of his College, who was a personage of some reputation in his day, the note against his name is here quoted:

“Jan 18. 1652–3, admitted *Nathaniel Vincent*.

“Nathaniel Vincent afterwards (by mandate 1679) D.D. He lived and dyed Fellow of the College, and was said to have been ordained a little before the Restoration by—Dean a Glover, and other Tryers at the Cock and Haunch of Venison on the Pease Market Hill. In 1674 He preached* before the King at Newmarket in a Long Periwig and Holland Sleeves, then the Dress of Gentlemen; which so scandalised even Charles 2^d, that He ordered the Duke of Monmouth, then Chancellor of the University, to put the Statutes in execution relating to the Decency of Apparel, vid. Wood’s Ath. v. 2^d 1033.”

After speaking of his conduct upon the death of Dr. Dillingham, referred to above, he proceeds:

“In the reign of James 2^d He was made a Justice of Peace, and used to go to Mass at Sidney College, but took the oaths at the Revolution. About a year or two before He dyed, He was outwitted by a distant Relation, and choused out of all his Fortune, about £1500 which He had been amassing during a long life and left scarce enough to bury Him. He dyed in May 1722.”

years later, Oley says: “I have been told by psons of Good note, yt the College was so kinde as to offer me the Mastership. I must desire their pardon for not returning thanks for it, and they cannot well deny it, Because I never knew it till very few davs since, yt they did so . . . But it is better in y^e Hand yt Holds it.”

* He subsequently published this sermon (as he says) “at the King’s desire”; it is entitled *On the Right Notion of Honour*, which has an ironical ring about it, when coming from such a man.

As Dr. Goddard was the son of a Frenchman who settled in Cambridge, we must make some allowance for Celtic vivacity in this description, not to mention that the Society had been entangled in a troublesome lawsuit over Dr. Vincent's will, and had agreed at last with his executor (in 1729) to take £200 in lieu of the considerable benefaction which he had bequeathed to the College—an act for which at least he deserves credit. By the irony of fate Dr. Goddard himself left a bequest which the Society was never able to realise in full.

To return to Dr. Blythe. He was admitted the year before Vincent, viz., April 17, 1652, and became a Fellow of the Society in 1657. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1684-5, and a large number of letters written by and to him, some of them of considerable interest, is preserved in the College library. His chief claim upon the gratitude of the College rests upon his bequest of about £6000 for the purchase of advowsons of livings to be offered to Fellows on the Clare and Exeter Foundations, in order to create vacancies by their acceptance and so promote a regular succession among the members of the Society. Most of the livings now in the gift of the College are due to this benefaction.

Shortly after Dr. Blythe's election, Thomas Philpot (a former Fellow-Commoner of the College, best known for his work on heraldry) left a house and farm at Eltham, and a farm at Sidcup, in Kent, for the purpose of founding two Fellowships at Clare, for which natives of Kent only should be eligible; and a preference was to be given to persons born in the hundred of Blackheath, "if there be any such in the University"—a clause which shows that the founder did not intend the benefit

of his gift to be restricted to candidates who had been educated in Clare.

This was in 1680, but the property was only to come to the College after the death of the donor's sister and one Thomas Marsh. Accordingly, we find the College agreeing to the establishment of these Fellowships on February 15, 1718. The agreement is worded in precise terms; the Fellows upon this foundation, while being entitled to rooms upon payment of the ordinary rent, were strictly debarred from any voice in the management of the College, and from holding any office or preferment in it.

It would have been well for the peace of the Society had all the regulations respecting Fellowships been as precise as these.

This was, however, unfortunately not the case, and this defect led to great dissension, or (to be more correct) gave occasion for the display of the dissension that then prevailed, among the Fellows.

Popular as Dr. Blythe's election seems to have been, we soon find the Society split into two camps, and the good Master must at times have found it by no means an easy or enviable task to try to keep the peace between the two contending factions. Robert Herne appears to have been the leader of the conservative party among the Fellows, while William Whiston and Richard Laughton headed the side in favour of progress and reform.

Unfortunately we can judge of Herne and his partisans only from the assertions of the other side, and the one who appears as their chief mouthpiece, William Whiston, is not a man to inspire unhesitating confidence

in his statements. Undoubted as are his abilities and his good intentions, his letters cannot, we think, but lead to the conclusion that where his personal feelings were aroused he was singularly lacking in judgment and in accuracy.*

But we must give a detailed account of him and of his equally distinguished friend, Richard Laughton.

William Whiston was born December 9, 1667, at Norton *juxta Twyfles*, in Leicestershire, of which place his father was rector. He was sent to school at Tamworth, but after being there less than two years he was admitted into Clare about the middle of 1686. There, as he tells us himself, he "earnestly pursued his studies, particularly the mathematics, eight hours in a day." Soon after his election to a Fellowship he commenced to take pupils, but his health had always been poor (perhaps in consequence of his excessive devotion as his father's amanuensis when a mere boy), and now broke down completely. Accordingly he transferred his pupils to his friend Laughton, and accepted the post of chaplain to Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, a generous patron of learning and himself an old Fellow of the College.

In 1702 he succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, but eight or nine years later he was expelled from his chair and from the University for holding Arian doctrines. His views had already attracted notice some years before, and his friend

* Cole (the antiquary) and Monk (in his *Life of Bentley*) are very severe in their judgments upon Whiston; but we must make some deduction from their strictures, as both would be naturally prejudiced against him upon theological grounds.

Laughton had tried to dissuade him from them, but in vain. Whiston tells us that he might have become a Fellow of the Royal Society had not Sir Isaac Newton refused to continue to be President if he were elected ; at which, if true, we can hardly be surprised, when the University treated him with such severity. His translation of Josephus by which he is best known appeared in 1737, and he died in 1752.

His memoirs suggest that he was labouring at this time under a species of religious mania, and the kindest and probably the truest estimate of his character is that pronounced by his old patron, Bishop Moore, "A very good man may be mistaken."

His friend and contemporary, *Richard Laughton*, was a man of equal learning and of far sounder judgment, and to him the College was mainly indebted for the high estimation in which it was undoubtedly held at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The terms in which Dr. Colbatch of Trinity, although entirely opposed to him in politics, refers to him in his commemoration sermon at Trinity in 1717 are well known, and have been chosen as a heading to this chapter ; and yet more enthusiastic are the words of Dr. Goddard in his note in the College Admission Book : *

"Richard Laughton, Fellow, The most eminent Tutor in the University both for the good Discipline He introduced into the College, and the Care and Instruction of his Pupils, and was the greatest encourager of Merit in young Scholars. . . . He was a man of the purest morals, the best heart, and the most unaffected Piety, but never had any other Preferment besides his Fellowship, except a Prebend

* Dr. Goddard's notions of grammar are singular.

of Worcester, about four or five years before his Death. He quite wore Himself out by too close an Attention to his Studies, and the Duties of his office, and dyed at London on his way from Worcester to Cambridge, July 1723. *Sit anima mea cum anima Laughtoni.*"

He was an ardent follower of the Newtonian philosophy, and did much to encourage the study of it in the University, especially when, as Proctor in 1710, he undertook personally the duty of Moderator with this end in view. He was, as might have been anticipated, a great friend of Bentley. When the University deprived the latter of his degrees, Laughton brought no less than six of his brother Fellows from Clare to vote against the grace. In Cooper's *Annals* (vol. iv. p. 114) will be found a quaint extract from the Diary of Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary :

"Thursday 8 July. Taking leave of Sir John Rawdon, Mr. Prior and Mr. Dover; visited Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity; then at Clare Hall, to visit and consult the famous pupil-monger, Mr. Laughton, to whom I was recommended by the Bishop of Ely."

Yet even Laughton was liable to make mistakes of judgment, and was on one occasion misled by his political partisanship into an act of egregious folly. The story is told at full length in Monk's *Life of Bentley* (vol. i. pp. 286-288.) As Senior Proctor he attempted to disperse a gathering at the Rose Tavern composed of the two representatives of the University in Parliament and their supporters, and, on their refusal to obey so dictatorial an order, attempted to represent the affair as an open insult to himself in the discharge

of his duty. The story affords us an insight into the violence of political animosities at the time, and thus gives additional value to Colbatch's tribute to Laughton's worth.

Such were the two men who represented the reform party in Clare, and if Whiston's account is to be trusted reform was sadly needed. The anecdote which he tells of the drunkenness prevailing even among the Fellows of the College is reserved for the chapter upon Social Life, to which it perhaps more fitly belongs, but we must warn the reader against accepting it without reservation, much more against making any sweeping inference from it as to the general want of sobriety among Whiston's enemies in the College.

We may now describe the disputes over elections to Fellowships which form such a melancholy incident in Dr. Blythe's Mastership. It may perhaps be thought that it would be better to let these ancient feuds remain buried and forgotten, instead of raking them up again now, after the lapse of two centuries; yet they serve to throw such light upon the almost autocratic powers of the Mastership in those days, and illustrate so clearly the characters of two men who must have been in their day among the most conspicuous in the University, that they can hardly be omitted from a history of our College.

The reader will remember that no provision was made in the original statutes to meet the case of a majority of the Fellows supporting one candidate for a Fellowship, while the Master voted in a minority for another, and the regulations in the subsequent statutes of 1551 were equally unsatisfactory.

Twice within the course of a few months did this defect lead to a dispute, involving in the second instance the question of the status of Fellows upon the Diggons foundation.

On the occasion (in 1697) of a vacancy among the Fellows upon the old foundation, Richard Laughton and a young Bachelor of Arts were the candidates for the preferment, and at the nomination eight votes were secured for the former out of fourteen. This of course rendered it impossible for the other side to secure the election of their candidate and so (as Whiston writes, in a letter upon the subject) "obliged the Master to defer the election."

The relations between Laughton and the Master were somewhat strained at this time, as appears from a letter of the former, written December 1697. A few extracts are here quoted, as they illustrate the character of the man better than pages of comment could do :

"Honoured Master

"I humbly beg y^r pardon for the trouble of this and hope you will be pleas'd to excuse it. . . . I am sensible I labour under great disadvantages, considering the bad opinion you have of me at present. But this misfortune I must ascribe to the ill-will of my enemies, who have industriously endeavour'd to give you 'this cause of distaste against me, and not to you, who I am sure were not inclinable to receive it.' I hope I may still live to satisfy you that I am not the person I have been represented to you to be. I can only at present with the utmost sincerity profess that I have a very grateful sense of all y^r former kindness to me; that I have all that respect & esteem for you, and shall endeavour to shew it

upon all occasions, w^{ch} my duty requires of me; that I shall pay as much deference to y^r will, when I know it, as any person in the Society; whenever I can comply with it I shall be glad, and when I cannot I shall without any reserve, and with that submission that becomes me, tell you so, . . .

. . . your most humble servant

R. Laughton."

The interposition, however, of John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, and another (perhaps the Bishop of Ely?) was solicited by Laughton's partisans, and the result was that Laughton was shortly afterwards elected—January 3, 1698. In filling up the Diggons Fellowship vacated by Laughton's election upon the old foundation the same difficulty again presented itself. Eight of the Fellows supported John Jennings, one of the candidates, while the Master and six of the Fellows voted for another. The Master refused to admit the candidate who was not his own choice, and a fresh election took place the following day, March 15, when Daniel Wilson was elected. The rejected candidate applied to the court of King's Bench for a *mandamus*, but without effect.

There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt, in view of a letter of Dr. Blythe on the subject, that Jennings had questioned the validity of the College order of 1658, upon which alone the foundation of the Diggons Fellowships rested, no legal indenture having ever been drawn between the founder and the Society.

As Laurence, the other Diggons Fellow, had voted for him, it is obvious that he would not have risked losing a vote by doing this unless there was some

clause in the order which was fatal to his candidature. A probable explanation is that he was not yet in Holy Orders, and thus, although still capable of holding the Exeter Fellowship in which he then was (Exeter Fellows not being required to be in Holy Orders till *four* years after taking the M.A. degree),* he would be ineligible for a Diggons Fellowship, if the College order in question were valid, as it required that a Fellow upon that foundation should enter Holy Orders within *three* years from his M.A. degree.

"Out of respect," writes Dr. Blythe, "to y^e memory of Mr. Diggons (whom I own to have been a generous benefactor) I never called in question y^e carelesse and lame settlement of his two ffellows; but if others will labour to shake that foundation, & lay open its weakenesse, let them bear y^e shame & y^a blame of such desperate proceedings towards a Benefactor, who deserved better usage frō them."

It does not seem obvious in what way it could have been a reflection upon Mr. Diggons if formal covenants had been subsequently drawn up, defining legally the position of the Fellows upon his foundation, and Dr. Blythe's conduct in the matter appears to us sentimental and unbusinesslike. He evidently, however, did *not* wish to raise the question, and therefore fell back upon the wording of the statutes (which required the concurrence of the Master in an election) in refusing to admit Jennings.

It might have been thought that the Society would not risk a repetition of so unpleasant an occurrence.

* He took his M.A. degree in 1694.

Yet this was not the case, and the right of by-Fellows to a vote was again called in question upon the occasion of an election in 1714. The Visitors then ruled that a Fellow upon the Diggons foundation was not entitled to vote,* and, this bringing things to a head, upon February 15, 1718, it was agreed to "make good by an Authentick Instrument under the College Seal the conditions of settlement (of the Diggons foundation) agreed upon and subscribed in the year 1658 by the then Master and eight Fellows."

The name of John Moore, Bishop of Norwich and afterwards of Ely, has come before us more than once, and it is now time to say something further about him. He was born at Market Harborough in Leicestershire, and was admitted on June 28, 1662. In 1667 he became a Fellow. He was made Bishop of Norwich in 1691, and translated to the see of Ely in 1707. The circumstances in which he met his death were rather melancholy; he caught cold during the protracted sittings in Ely House in London, whilst hearing the petition of the Fellows of Trinity against Dr. Bentley, and died July 31, 1714. Among his papers was found a draft sentence of deprivation against the Master of Trinity, for whose appointment he had himself been in part responsible, as he was a member of the Commission of Bishops who recommended him.

He was an enthusiastic collector of books and a liberal patron of scholars, at whose service he was always ready to place the treasures of his library. He

* If the Master contended on this occasion that his concurrence was necessary, his contention must have been overruled by the Visitors.

was also a courtier and man of affairs; the Queen (writes Monk) was known to be in the habit of consulting him upon ecclesiastic subjects. .

His library was famous throughout Europe, and contained some 29,000 volumes and 1790 manuscripts. The scandalous stories told of his methods of acquiring these books and manuscripts may be unhesitatingly rejected. Upon his death King George I., at the suggestion of Viscount Townshend, purchased them for £6000 and presented them to the University, of whose present library they thus formed the nucleus.

This valuable gift, being soon followed by the despatch of a squadron of horse to Oxford, to arrest certain Jacobite officers there, gave rise to the two well-known epigrams :

“ The king observing, with judicious eyes,
The state of both his Universities,
To one he sends a regiment ; for why ?
That *learned* body wanted *loyalty*.
To th’other books he gave, as well discerning
How much that *loyal* body wanted *learning*.”

This epigram, emanating from Oxford, called forth a retort from the sister University. It was written by Sir William Browne, the founder of the prizes for Greek and Latin odes and epigrams, and if it does not equal the piquancy of the first, it is but fair to remember that the task of replying was the more difficult.

“ The king to Oxford sent his troop of horse :
For Tories own no *argument* but *force*.
With equal care, to Cambridge books he sent :
For Whigs allow no *force* but *argument*.”

Bishop Moore married, in 1679, a daughter of Mr. Butler of Barnwell Priory, Cambridge, and no apology is needed for quoting the following letter upon the subject to Dr. Blythe, who had recently been elected Master of the College :

“S^r,

I have intentions to be at Barnwell on Monday night, & y^e next day to consummate my love affair, which has bin so long depending. I have great desire to be married by you ; & shall (if y^u be under no obligations at y^t time) own it as a singular favour, if you will please on Tuesday morning to walke over thither privatly & per-
forme y^t act of kindness for us.

I am S^r your
very faithfull Sr^t

J. Moore.

19 Apr. 79.”

He was always a staunch friend to his old College, and had its best interests at heart. In the address to him upon June 15, 1708, on the occasion of his coming to Clare in his first visitation of his new diocese of Ely, allusion is made to the help which he had given towards the building fund (a donation of £50) as well as to the numerous volumes with which he had enriched the library.

Among the members of the College at this time we may select the following, in chronological order, from the Admission Book.

Admitted :

1664. *John Mason.* Rector of Water Stratford

and author of a volume of poems entitled *Spiritual Songs* (published in 1683).

1666. *Charles Alston*. Fellow of the College and D.D.; afterwards chaplain to the Bishop of London, and Archdeacon of Essex. Died in 1713.

1669. *Sir George Downing, Bart.* The father of the Founder of Downing College. He was a benefactor to our College, giving £200 towards the new buildings.

1685. *John Laurence*. Elected a Fellow in 1692; he has already been referred to as the Diggons Fellow whose position was called in question by Jennings. He was an author and wrote a treatise upon *Gardening*.

1692. *Thomas Paske*. Elected to a Diggons Fellowship in 1699. As he came from Hertfordshire, he may be presumed to be a grandson of the late Master. He was LL.D. and represented the University in Parliament from 1710 till his death in 1720.

Dr. Blythe died in 1713. As the votes of the Society, in the election of a successor to him, were equally divided between Laughton and another candidate, the appointment lapsed to the Chancellor of the University as Visitor. That office was then held by the Duke of Somerset, and he nominated his chaplain, William Grigg, M.A., a Fellow of Jesus College, who was accordingly admitted upon May 16.

The circumstances in which Grigg assumed the reins of government were not particularly propitious, and he does not appear to have been a man to redeem a bad start. We know but little about him, but that little does not tend to give us a very high opinion of his character. In short, he appears to have been an

essentially commonplace man. Instances of his bad taste may be found in Monk's *Life of Bentley* (vol. ii. pp. 13, foll. and p. 32), and his appeal to the Bishop of Ely against his old College, from which he wished to continue to draw his stipend as a Fellow during a year of grace, indicates an unpleasing disposition to demand the utmost to which he could lay claim.

The only event of his Mastership which we have to chronicle is the establishment of the *Pyke* and *Metcalfé* scholarships.

Mr. Thomas Pyke's bequest was left upon somewhat amusing terms, and, as we owe to them our solitary Poet Laureate, they deserve quoting. The College orders relating to his benefaction are dated December 20, 1720, and we learn from the preamble that the estate, then letting for £25 a year, had been left by the donor for the maintenance of two scholars who were to be *the sons of bakers, or if there were none such, the sons of deceased clergymen*. This somewhat curious preference is to be explained by the fact that the Founder was himself a Cambridge baker, and it led, as we have said, to the admission to Clare of William Whitehead, Poet Laureate from 1757 till his death upon April 14, 1785. Whitehead was the son of a Cambridge baker, and was born in 1715; at the age of fourteen he was sent to Winchester, but failing to be elected at New College, Oxford, he was determined by the Pyke scholarship to come to Clare, of which he was afterwards a Fellow. He wrote tragedies, a comedy, and miscellaneous poems, but he does not stand high in popular estimation as a poet.*

* Cooper, *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 415.

The second of these benefactions was received from the Rev. Alexander Metcalfe of North Grimstone, Yorkshire, and was augmented by a further gift from Mr. Thomas Langley. It consisted of £100 Bank of England Stock and a farm at Oustwicke near Hull. The regulations with respect to this scholarship (restricted to candidates from the Grammar School of Kingston-upon-Hull) were drawn up in 1724.

During the last years of Dr. Blythe's Mastership, and the thirteen years during which Dr. Grigg presided over the Society, more men, subsequently distinguished in Church and State, were admitted to the College than at any period of its history, before or since. But the credit of this rests almost entirely with one of the Fellows, Richard Laughton, as is shown by the words "pupil to Mr. Laughton," which are appended to most of their names in our Admission Book. The following list is surely a remarkable one for "one of our least Colleges."

Admitted:

1695. *Benjamin Ibbott.* After taking his B.A. degree, Ibbott migrated to Corpus. He was subsequently created D.D. by *mandamus*, and was chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, &c.

1695. *Robert Greene.* Dr. Goddard's note says: "He published a large folio of his own Philosophy." This was in 1712. In it he combated the Newtonian views. He maintained that there was no such thing as *vacuum* (in the modern sense), and that the circle could be squared; held strange views of *gravity*, and regarded the new system as tending to undermine revelation. It

appears that he was thought by his contemporaries (not without some reason) to be mad.*

1701. *Thomas Seaton.* Admitted as sizar, and subsequently elected a Fellow. He left by his will an estate worth about £20 per annum to the University to found the well known "Seatonian" prize for an English poem upon a religious subject.

1704. *Josiah Hort.* He was born about 1674, and was educated together with Isaac (afterwards Dr.) Watts, his life-long friend, at an academy for Nonconformist ministers in London. According to tradition he was himself engaged in ministerial work before he conformed to the Church of England. He entered Clare in 1704, but left the University the next year without taking a degree. He was Chaplain to Earl Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1709, and was successively Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and Archbishop of Tuam. He died in 1752.

1706. *Martin Folkes.* He was a distinguished antiquarian, and became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1714, when only twenty-three years of age. He was President of the Royal Society from 1741 to 1753, when ill-health compelled him to resign; he died the following year. He was elected a member of the French Academy in 1742, and received the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford in 1746.

Several letters from him upon antiquarian and scientific subjects are preserved in the College library. The most interesting of them contains a description of the supposed petrified city in the Sahara.

* Wordsworth, *University Studies*, p. 69.

1707. *Francis Barnard.* Afterwards D.D., and Prebendary of Norwich.

1708. *James Hargrave.* Afterwards D.D., Dean of Chichester, and Prebendary of Westminster.

1708. *Charles Naylor.* Afterwards Dean of Winchester.

1708. *William Stockwood.* Prebendary of Worcester and Westminster.

1709. *Anthony Ellys.* He was elected an Exeter Fellow in 1714, and continued to be a member of the Society till 1722. He became D.D. in 1728, and was made Bishop of St. David's in 1752. He died in 1761.

1718. *George Watts.* He was a distinguished preacher, and became Master of the Temple in 1771.

1720. *William Greaves.* Afterwards Commissary of the University.

Among noblemen and statesmen we have to mention :

1710. *Hon. Thomas Pelham.* By his father's death in 1712 he became Baron Pelham of Laughton, but besides this he was created in succession Earl of Clare, Viscount Pelham, Marquis of Clare, Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne, and Baron Pelham of Stannier.

He was Secretary of State, and afterwards First Lord of the Treasury, besides holding other offices. In 1737 he was chosen High Steward of the University, and Chancellor in 1748. He died November 17, 1768.

He was a pompous man of no great ability, but he was at least honest and kind-hearted. Dr. Goddard adds in the note in the College Admission Book, "he was an

excellent Chancellor of the University, and a kind Patron to many of its members."*

1710. *Sir John Hobart, Bart.*, afterwards created Earl of Buckinghamshire.

1713. *Hon. John Hervey*. He was the eldest son of the first Earl of Bristol by his second wife, and subsequently, on the death of his half-brother, succeeded to the courtesy title of Lord Hervey. He became Lord Privy Seal in 1740 and died, before his father, in 1743. Lord Hervey, despite his dissolute character (and he probably was not much worse than many of his contemporaries), must undoubtedly be regarded as one of our most distinguished men in the first half of the eighteenth century. His *Memoirs of the Reign of George II. from his accession to the death of Queen Caroline*, is invaluable to the student of that period of history.

1715. *George Parker*. Afterwards Earl of Macclesfield.

1717. *Hon. William Lord Ryalton*. Subsequently Marquis of Blandford.

1717. *Hon. Charles Cornwallis*. Afterwards Earl Cornwallis.

1718. *Hon. Alan Brodrick*. Afterwards Lord Middleton.

William Grigg was succeeded by a man of a very different stamp. Charles Morgan was elected Master upon April 18, 1726, by the unanimous vote of the

* He is credited with saying many foolish things, but he said one smart one. When many of the bishops who owed their preferment to him fell away from him after his retirement, he remarked "even fathers in God sometimes forget their maker."

Society. It is specially recorded upon the election paper that the election was *unanimi sociorum omnium consensu, quod alias non factum novimus*—“by the unanimous consent of all the Fellows, which we have never known to be done before.” It would seem that they had had enough of appointments by the Chancellor.

The Admission Book with Dr. Goddard’s note must again be quoted:

“1693, Oct. 12. Admitted *Charles Morgan* of Covent Garden.

Fellow & Apr. 1726 chose Master of the College. He was Chaplain to Bishop Moore and presented by Him to the Rectory of Glemsford, and another living in Suffolk. Was much beloved by all his Friends on account of his humane, and sociable Disposition, and much admired for the elegance of his Pen, and his great compass of knowledge in the Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He left all his books to the College, and dyed Apr. 30, 1736.”

Charles Morgan appears to have been one of the best Masters that Clare has ever had. The encomium of Dr. Goddard is fully borne out by the terms of affection and respect in which he is addressed by his various correspondents, notably Martin Folkes; and it is to be regretted that want of space prohibits all quotations from their letters.

He had been elected to an Exeter Fellowship April 13, 1700, and to a Fellowship upon the old foundation in 1708. He had resigned this latter, however, in 1720, and Antony Ellys, afterwards Bishop of St. David’s, had been elected in his place. The Society must have been fully conscious of his worth, as they unanimously

elected him, in spite of his being no longer a Fellow, to succeed Dr. Grigg.

Of his Mastership there is not much to record which is likely to be of general interest, but the reader will perhaps be amused by a short account of Dr. Robert Greene, the eccentric writer upon philosophical subjects already mentioned. He became a Fellow of the College in 1703 and continued to hold his Fellowship till his death at Tamworth in August 1730. He had, it is true, been presented to the vicarage of Everton, but the income of that living was then so small that it was tenable with a Fellowship.

At his death he left his property to the College, although the terms of his will were such that the Society hesitated before accepting the benefaction. One of the conditions has been already referred to in connection with the library.

His bequest, however, was finally accepted in 1742, and from it six scholarships were founded in 1747; two cups are also annually awarded to Bachelors of Arts of the College in accordance with the terms of his will, for the promotion of learning and regularity of conduct respectively. Recipients of these cups may be glad that the College order of October 17, 1764, is no longer enforced :

“ . . . And that . . . his exhibitions of £6 each be given to two such scholars of the Sophisters' year, as shall have sat for their B.A. Degree in the Senate house . . . provided that each of the Scholars so approved of shall speak a Latin oration in the Hall, the one in praise of Religion, Christian Piety and Virtue; the other in praise of Learning.”

Another order agreed to immediately after his death, after empowering the Master to pay his funeral expenses, proceeds :

“That in case the Society accepts of the Benefaction of the said Dr Greene according to the conditions of his will, the charge of the Mourning bought by his Relatives before they heard the contents of his will be born by the College.”

A delicate compensation for their disappointment.

Two other scholarships were also founded about this time. The Rev. John Wilson, sometime Fellow, by his will in 1724 bequeathed his estate at Woodlands in the parish of Calne to the College (after the death of his wife) for the maintenance of two scholars. These scholarships were established in 1730. In 1764 this estate was sold for £1074 18s. 9d. to the Earl of Shelburne, and the money subsequently expended (in 1818) in part purchase of an estate at Ickleton.

Several members of the College, admitted during these ten years, were subsequently distinguished, although the number is considerably smaller than in the time when Laughton was living; of these we may mention the following:

Admitted :

1726. *Richard Terrick*. Dr. Goddard writes: “Richard Terrick, Fellow and D.D., Bishop of Peterborough, 1757, of London 1764. Dyed, March 31, 1777. He was, not only during his being a scholar & Fellow of the College, but afterwards in passing through the high stations He filled in the Church, universally esteemed and beloved, on account of his Integrity, the goodness

of his heart, his amiable Temper & Disposition, and the graceful & engaging manner in which He discharged the several duties of his Function, particularly that of Preaching, in which He was equalled by few of his Cotemporaries. *Ita Test. Amicus quinquagenarius P.S.G.*" . . .

1727. *Isaac Cowper*. Fellow in 1731 and afterwards Prebendary of Lincoln and Lichfield.

1727. *Hon. Thomas Townshend*. He was elected one of the representatives of the University in 1727, and continued to represent the University till the general election in 1774.

1728. *Gilbert Bouchery*. Fellow in 1736, and afterwards Prebendary of St. Asaph.

1730. *Charles Plomptre*. He was afterwards elected a Fellow of Queens' College, was D.D., and Archdeacon of Ely.

1731. *John Courtail*. Fellow in 1736. Afterwards Archdeacon of Lewes.

1733. *Frecheville Ramsden*. He became Fellow in 1738, and was afterwards an officer in the Guards, Equerry to the King and Deputy Governor of Carlisle.

1733. *William Cole*. He was admitted as a sizar, but subsequently became a pensioner and finally a fellow-commoner. He migrated to King's College about three years later. He held the living of Bletchley from 1753 to 1767, but spent the last thirteen years of his life at Milton, where he died in 1782. He was a most diligent antiquarian, and his MS. volumes in the British Museum contain (as we have already seen) much valuable information about our College.

In 1735 there were admitted, *William Herring*, after-

wards Dean of St. Asaph, and *John Berridge*, author of *The Christian World Unmasked*.

John Berridge claims a longer notice. He was the son of a wealthy Nottinghamshire grazier and was born in 1716. His father designed him for his own profession, but finding that he was totally incompetent to judge of the value of cattle, he sent him in despair to College. He became a Fellow of Clare in 1740, and was in 1755 presented to the vicarage of Everton. In 1763 the living was augmented to £100 a year from the Blythe Trust, and Berridge accordingly ceased to be a Fellow the next year. It was about two years after his admission to this living that (as he himself tells us) the change came over him which so completely transformed the character of his preaching, and made him the apostle of evangelicalism in his own and the adjacent counties. He died early in 1793.

Dr. John Wilcox, who succeeded Morgan in the Mastership upon May 9, 1736, had been admitted July 13, 1708. He was elected a Fellow upon February 17, 1714, and was subsequently D.D. In the College Admission Book it is said of him that he was

“a very careful Tutor of good Learning, and great Integrity. He was subdean of York, Prebendary of St Paul’s & Vicar of Kensington. Dyed in College Sept. 16, 1762, and left the whole of his Fortunes, except a few Legacies, towards building a new chapel.”

Of this bequest we have already spoken in the chapter upon the College Buildings.

From Cole (MS. vol. ii. p. 9) we learn a few more

facts about him. Cole tells us that Bishop Gibson, to whose son he was tutor,* presented him to the Rectory of Kensington, and that the Duke of Newcastle (Chancellor of the University) offered him the Arch-deaconry of York, which was worth about £90 per annum, but that he declined because he did not want the ceremony and trouble of an annual visitation. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1751. Canon Wordsworth in his *Social Life at the English Universities* (p. 76) says of him: "In *The Capitade* he figures as 'good though gloomy W—c—x' which is rather high praise."

We may conclude from these and other hints that he was a man to be respected rather than loved, with a high sense of duty and firm in his government of the College, but devoid of that warmth of affection which had made his predecessor so generally popular.

Cole gives us a list of the members in 1742, taken from the Buttery Boards; it includes eight Fellow-Commoners, and the terms in which he speaks of the College show that it maintained a high reputation in the University:

" May it never want those who will be both Patrons & Protectors of it is my sincere & hearty Prayer so long as it is a College, w^{ch} I further wish will be so long as y^e Sun & Moon endureth, w^{ch} wishes I can't forbear making for a Society . . . that ever since I have known it has set a laudable example, both as Private Fellows, & a Public Body, to y^e whole University, and flourishes accordingly."

The number of distinguished names entered in the

* This was John Gibson, who was admitted November 3, 1726, was elected a Fellow in 1730, and died in 1731.

Admission Book during these years is again considerable.

We may mention :

1737. *Right Hon. Henry, Earl of Lincoln.*

1740. *Richard Cope, D.D. and Prebendary of Westminster.*

1742. *Charles Howard, Dean of Chichester in 1769.*

1742. *Hon. Charles Townshend, the well-known Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

1745. *Thomas Pelham, afterwards Lord Pelham.*

1745. *John Parkhurst, afterwards Fellow and author of a Hebrew lexicon to the Old Testament and a Greek lexicon to the New Testament.*

1745. *William Dodd, LL.D. [This was the unfortunate Dr. Dodd who was in 1777 hanged for forgery, in spite of the appeals made on his behalf.]*

1750. *Thomas Townshend, created Lord Sydney in 1783.*

1751. *John Buckner, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.*

1752. *John Wheler, afterwards Prebendary of Westminster.*

1753. *Nathaniel Ryder, created Lord Harrowby, May 14, 1776.*

1753. *Samuel Carr, afterwards Prebendary of St. Paul's and D.D.*

1754. *Thomas Pitt, created Lord Camelford in 1783.*

1755. *Robert Darley Waddilove, afterwards Dean of Ripon.*

1755. *Right Hon. Charles Lord Viscount Brome*, afterwards (by his father's death in 1762) Earl Cornwallis; subsequently created Marquis Cornwallis, twice Governor-General of India, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when the Act of Union was passed.

1757. *Henry Temple*, afterwards Lord Viscount Palmerston.

The College possesses portraits of Charles Townshend and of Cornwallis; the former hangs in the music gallery, the latter in the body of the hall on the right-hand side. Like most of our portraits they are copies only and were given to the Society by the Rev. H. J. Carter, Rector of Duxford.

Besides men of affairs there were also members of the College who maintained its credit within the University.

To the book of congratulatory poems published by the University in 1748, there were two contributors from Clare—William Whitehead and Francis Maseres.

Francis Maseres has been omitted from the list of distinguished members on the last page, as his academic reputation entitles him to a special notice.

He was born December 15, 1731, and admitted in July 1748, so that he was a freshman, and only seventeen years old, when he contributed to this collection of University verses—an astonishing instance of precocity. Fortunately he fulfilled his early promise in after life. He was fourth Wrangler in 1752 and was also awarded the first of the Chancellor's medals for classical studies, then given for the first time. He was elected a Fellow, and after being admitted to the Temple was made Attorney-General of Quebec. He became Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer in 1773, an office which he

held till his death in 1824. In 1771 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His numerous publications comprise essays on American affairs, on social questions, and on mathematics. There is a story told of him that he proposed to leave a legacy to the College, but cancelled it because he had never been asked to sit for his portrait.

Maseres also contributed to the collection of poems published in 1751 on the death of the Prince of Wales, and ten years later another member of the College, John Langhorne, contributed to a similar collection. Langhorne entered Clare as a ten-year man in 1759; although he never took his degree he was an excellent scholar. His translation of Plutarch's *Lives* passed through many editions and is still recognised as a standard work.

Upon Wilcox's death in 1762, Peter Stephen Goddard, the author of the notes in the Admission Book, was elected to fill the vacancy. His father was a French refugee barber who had come as servant to a Fellow-Commoner of King's College and had settled in Cambridge; the son was admitted to Clare as a sizar in 1721, became a Fellow in 1727, and took his degree as D.D. in 1761. He was made a Prebend of Peterborough, and afterwards a Prebend of St. Paul's, by Bishop Terrick, who was with him at Clare and was his life-long friend.

In 1781 he published a volume of sermons which he dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle* who had been his

* Henry Fiennes Clinton, who succeeded his brother as Earl of Lincoln in 1730. He was nephew to the Duke of Newcastle (Duke first of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and afterwards of Newcastle-under-

pupil. The terms in which he addresses the Duke are worth quoting for their absurdity, and certainly lend some colour to the assertion that his mind was affected after he became Master:

“ You being one of my oldest pupils now living, as well as of the greatest dignity and consequence I ever had the care of, having been placed under my tuition at Clare Hall in the year 1737 by the late Duke of Newcastle ; and having never received the least mark of favour either from him or yourself (except that you have frequently acknowledged to my Friends & others that I faithfully and conscientiously discharged my Duty) tho’ I am not conscious of any failure of a proper Regard for you both on my part, I presume to present these sermons to you,

and remain

Your Grace’s most obedient
humble servant

P. S. G.”

“ Clare Hall

March 28, 1781.”

He left directions in his will among other bequests for the endowment of a scholarship at Clare for the descendant of a French Protestant refugee; but it subsequently proved that the estate was not adequate to meet the legacies and the scholarship in question was therefore never founded. He died October 25, 1781.

The most important event of Goddard’s Mastership was the building of the new chapel elsewhere described.

Lyne), and succeeded his uncle (whose ...e, his own first cousin, he married) as Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne, in virtue of the patent by which that Dukedom was conferred.

Beyond this there is little to be said. The most distinguished man admitted during his Mastership was the Hon. Charles Brodrick, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel ; but it may be interesting to note that besides Goddard, two other Fellows, nearly contemporary with him, were, according to Cole, either French or of French extraction. The Rev. G. Bouchery, elected Fellow in 1736, was French by descent, and the Rev. John Courtail, elected in the same year, was the son of French parents living at Exeter. Perhaps this may account for the unusual warmth of Goddard's encomium upon the latter—" He was the best Tutor in Clare Hall since Dr. Laughton."

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE COLLEGE

“Quidquid agunt homines . . .
. . . nostri est farrago libelli.”—JUVENAL.

To give any adequate idea of the life in a College during six centuries is impossible in the compass of a single chapter. The subject, moreover, belongs rather to the history of the University as a whole than to that of any particular College, for much of what is said of one College must necessarily be equally applicable to all. Nevertheless, as we think that the present members of Clare will wish to know something, however fragmentary, of the manner of life of those who have preceded them there, an attempt is here made to put together a few facts which may perhaps prove suggestive, attention being directed in particular to any special information which we possess about our own College. The chapter may conveniently be divided into more or less clearly distinguished sections bearing severally upon the following topics: (1) the accommodation of students, (2) discipline and government, (3) lectures and instruction, (4) recreations.

(1) It is important to remember that the design of the Founders of our Colleges was to provide for the lodging and maintenance only of a Master and a certain limited

number of students, that is to say, *Fellows* or *Scholars* (no distinction being drawn in the earliest times between these terms) and *poor Scholars*, the latter being mere boys who were, more or less, in the position of servants to the Fellows, receiving their board, lodging, and education free.

It is true that Lady Clare's statutes of 1359 contemplate the admission of persons to reside in the College who were not upon the Foundation; but the conditions attached clearly imply that this permission was intended only to meet exceptional cases, and was not to be regarded as other than a special favour, and the language of the clause suggests that it was designed for the benefit of grown men who wished to pursue their studies further, and not for the benefit of the ordinary undergraduate.*

The distinction between the terms *Scholar* and *Fellow* appears to have arisen out of the subsequent practice of requiring a period of probation from the newly elected Fellow. There is no indication in our earliest statutes of any such provision, but in the later statutes of 1551 it is enacted that new Fellows, if Bachelors only, shall be elected as *probationer* Fellows; such Fellows, while entitled to participate in all the emoluments and advantages of the others, were not to be admitted as permanent Fellows until they had proceeded to the degree of Master. This enactment serves to explain the elections of Fellows upon the old Foundation *in probationem*, of

* In a statement of debts due in 1455 occurs an entry which is instructive: "Magister Babthorp for his chamber-rent (*pro redditu camerae sua*) . . . 6s. 8d." Again in 1462 we find the names of Babthorpe and *Rector Hael*, the latter paying 10s. for his chamber.

which we frequently read in the seventeenth century, and occasionally in the eighteenth also.

Long, however, before the foundation of our present Colleges, students had flocked in considerable numbers to Cambridge, to obtain the advantages of University teaching. These students found for themselves lodgings in the houses of the townspeople, and it was the constant friction between lodgers and landlords upon the subject of the charges exacted that led to the appointment, by letters patent in the thirteenth century, of a board composed of two Masters of Arts and two burgesses of the town, who were to fix the rents to be paid by students for the houses which they occupied. These Masters of Arts were called (from their duties) Taxors, and although these duties had long ceased, the name and office continued till modern times, being abolished only in 1856.

It was in the nature of things that such students should, from the first, combine in a common inn or hostel for the sake of the advantages of corporate life and for that mutual protection which in those turbulent days was required to an extent which it is hard for us, in our own quiet times, to realise. Such houses were under a Principal, but the arrangement must in early times have been of a strictly private nature.

With the establishment of endowed Colleges the character of these hostels in most cases was changed, and they became attached to particular Colleges. No doubt this was a mutual gain; the hostel obtained the support of the College, while it served the turn of the College in providing additional accommodation for those members who were not on the Foundation, but lived

at their own charges. Of course the College would exercise some kind of control, in such cases, over the hostel.

Fuller gives a list of thirty-four* such hostels, with two inns, the difference between the two being, he says, merely one of size. Some of them, if we may credit his statement, were of considerable dimensions, and numbered eighty or even one hundred students.

The system finally broke down in the middle of the sixteenth century; presumably many of the other Colleges of the University, like our own, enlarged their buildings in that century, and so found room within their own walls for those members who would otherwise have settled in a hostel.† Fuller declares (p. 64) that Trinity Hostel ("wherein students continued till the year 1540") survived all the rest. Dr. Caius, however, tells us that ten were still existing at the time when he wrote, viz., in 1573.

One of these hostels, Borden's hostel, was attached first to St. John's Hospital (afterwards St. John's College) and subsequently to Clare. Cole tells us (MS. vol. xxxi. p. 214) that it lay "north of St. Michael's Church, opposite to Findsilver Lane" (now Trinity Lane), and that it was in his day "part of a dwelling and the Rose Tavern Stables."

* This is an exaggeration according to Mr. Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*.

† The clause *de cohabitatione extraneorum* in our statutes of 1551 is quite different from the clause on the same subject in the statutes of 1359. The presence of the *fensionarius* (or student who paid for his rooms and food) is now recognised and accepted as a fact, as the use of a definite term shows. Moreover, he is required to promise that he will perform his exercises and duly submit to correction, of the latter of which there is not a hint in the earlier clause; this indicates that a different class of persons is in contemplation.

At what date the hostel came into the possession of our College is not known, but it must have been very shortly after it was founded, as an entry in the old Register of the College mentions that a certain Magister Robert Spalding, a Fellow on the first Foundation (*in prima fundacione*) was in the Mastership of Ralph Kerdington removed from the Society for selling the hoste! "then called Spaldyng In but now Borden Hostele." This would seem to indicate that Spalding had himself been Principal, and the building called after him. Spalding seems to have sold it to the Prior of Ely; at least we find in Baker's MS. (vol. vii. pp. 79, 80) a copy of the grant of it by the Prior of Ely to King Henry VI., dated August 8, 1446. The latter must have presented it to Clare before 1448. Cole (MS. vol. xlvi. p. 5) quotes from an old register at St. Peter's College a petition in August 1448 from W. Wilfleet, then Master of Clare, to the Master and Scholars of St. Peter's for permission to "place or build a chamber in the hostel commonly called Borden's Hostel." In a list of debts due to the College upon October 1, 1462, "the Vicar of Heslyngfeld" is entered as owing £2 5s. for the rent of Bourden's hostel (*pro redditu de Bourden hostell*), and about 1486 it is said to be let for four marks (*locatur pro iiii. mark*).

Lastly, in the College records we find a copy of the conveyance upon June 6, 1539,* by John Crayforde, D.D., Master, and the Fellows and Scholars of Clare

* In a Corpus MS. ascribed to the middle of the sixteenth century, it is spoken of as a lawyers' hostel which had since become the property of Biggerdicke; this exactly agrees with the entry in our College records.

Hall to Ralph Bykardyke, Alderman and Burgess of Cambridge, for £40 sterling of "all that theyre tene-ment with a gardyn called Clare Hall tenement, and otherwise called Burden Hostyll"

The subjoined quotation from a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, London, on December 13, 1550, by Thomas Lever, B.D., a Fellow of St. John's College,* will serve at once to illustrate the collapse of the hostel system and to present a picture of student life at the time. The preacher has evidently not erred on the side of understating his case, but the admission into the Colleges of members not on the Foundation must have given some colour to the complaint that the benefits of such endowments were now being largely extended to a class for which they were never intended, to the injury of those who were entitled to the exclusive enjoyment of them.

"Before that you dyd begynne to be the dysposers or the kynges lyberalitee towardes learnyng and poverty, ther was in houses belongyng unto the universyte of Cambryge, two hundred studentes of dyvynytye, many verye well learned, whyche bee nowe all clene gone, house and manne, young towarde scholers, and old faterlye Doctors, not one of them leste: one hundred also of an other sorte that havyng rych frendes or being benefyced men dyd lyve of them selves in Ostles and Innes, be either gon awaye, or elles fayne to crepe into colleges, and put poore men from bare lyvynge. Those bothe be all gone, and a small number of poore godly dylygent studentes nowe remaynyng only in colleges be not able to tary and continue their studye in y^e universytye for lacke of exibi-

* Cooper, *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 52.

cion and healpe. There be dyvers ther which rise daily betwixte foure and fyve of the clocke in the mornynge, and from five untyll syxe of the clocke use commen prayer wyth an exortacyon of god's wqrde in a common chappell, and from syxe unto ten of the clocke use ever eyther private studye or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dynner, where as they be contente wyth a penye piece of biese amongst *iii*, havyng a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same biese, wyth salte and otemel, and nothyngel elles.

“ After thys slender dinner they be either teachynge or learnynge untyll *v* of the clocke in the evening, when as they have a supper not much better than theyr dynner. Immediatelye after the whyche, they go eyther to reasonyng in problemes or unto some other studye, untyl it be nine or tenne of the clocke, and there beyng without fyre, are fayne to walk or runne up and downe halfe an houre, to gette a heate on theyr fete whan they go to bed.”

The life of the student in the Middle Ages was doubtless often a hard struggle; yet it would be a mistake to suppose that it was invariably attended by great privations. There were presumably rich and poor, idle and industrious, extravagant and thrifty in the University then as now; and we must not form our conception of University life in those days solely from the “poor scholars” or sizars, who would be specially chosen on the score of their poverty, their industry, and their good character in general.

No doubt the fare was coarse, and the chambers barely furnished. What the ordinary furniture in a College was like in early days may be gathered from the notices of bequests to the establishment, already mentioned in chapter ii.

The chances of serious molestation were also considerable. In 1381 there was a riot in the town, and the statutes and other documents of the University were publicly burnt in the market-place by the populace. Some years later we read of complaints made of the robberies and murders perpetrated by Irishmen at Oxford, and in 1470 the Chancellor was empowered to imprison undergraduates in Cambridge who disturbed the peace of the University. Frays occurred between the students themselves, those of the North siding against those of the South, and in 1591 one Richard Parish of Chesterton was arrested for attacking with a dagger and wounding certain scholars who were in a ferry-boat with him, between Chesterton and Stourbridge Fair.

Yet all this was only characteristic of the age, and our pity for the "poor scholar," whose position was not altogether an enviable one,* must not lead us to overlook the statutes passed from time to time against extravagance in dress on the part of the student, against frequenting bull-baitings, and the like—statutes which clearly indicate that all the men of those days were not models of thrift and industry.

Details as to the cost of living in the University at different periods may be of interest to some of our

* Cooper (*Annals*, vol. iii. p. 181) quotes a decree of the Vice-Chancellor and eleven Heads on December 19, 1625, which recites that "contrary to the ancient statutes of the University and Colleges, within a few years, boys and men ignorant of letters, and altogether unapt to make any progress in the studies of the University, and women besides, had crept within the college walls, to do those works which used to be done by indigent students to help to bear their charges."

readers, and fortunately we possess sufficient information to enable us to give at least a fairly complete account, although we must be content with somewhat scanty statements about the earlier period.

By our Foundress's statutes it was provided that the allowance to "poor scholars" for commons should not exceed 7*d.* a week each; besides this they were to receive half a mark yearly for necessary clothing.

During Crayford's mastership (1530-1539) we find from the old records of the College that the Master received, for "commons and pittances" 56*s.* a year, for stipend 60*s.*, for livery 23*s. 4d.*, and for "anniversaries of benefactors" 4*s. 8d.*, amounting in all to the imposing total of £7 4*s.* per annum, from which, however, 14*s. 4d.* had to be deducted for the King's tithe. The allowances to a Fellow, in the majority of cases (7 out of 11), came to £5 4*s.*, and were liable to a similar deduction.

In 1546* the allowance for commons had risen from 56*s.* to £3 9*s. 4d.*, while £14 11*s. 8d.* more was paid for "increases of commons" for the twelve Fellows, in connection with various benefactors.

The four "bible-clerks" still received only 7*d.* a week each, with 6*s. 8d.* a year for their livery; but the "Master's Scholar" (who occupied an exceptional position) received 8*d.* a week, or £1 14*s. 8d.* a year, for commons; 4*s.* each was paid to the four scholars (bible-clerks) for reading (*lectura*) during dinner time; but perhaps the most amusing item of all in the account is that

* See the documents published by the Royal Commissioners in 1852, and Cooper, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 432. Dr. Lamb's figures (*Documents, &c.* pp. 68, 69) may be compared. They are substantially identical. The allowance, 7*d.*, to a bible-clerk, in the latter, is evidently a slip for 7*s.*

for "barber and laundress." These two functionaries together received £1 10s. a year.

Probably the laundress was not accommodated in College, but the barber certainly had rooms there. In the building accounts, with which the reader is already acquainted, the "barber's shop" is mentioned in connection with the removal of the old buildings about 1682. There was a barber's shop just inside Trinity gate, near Bishop's hostel, as lately as 1775, and Robert Foster, the "flying barber," who died at the end of last century, was, it appears, for many years hairdresser to Clare.* But dignified as the office of barber was, the College butler appears to have been a still more important personage. It may not perhaps surprise us much to read that one of the Masters of the College, Rowland Swynburne, at his death in 1557 left a legacy to the butler of his day, but the reader will probably find it hard to credit that at the end of the seventeenth century the Master of the College and the College butler were *brothers*. Richard Blythe held the office of butler while his brother, Dr. Samuel Blythe, was Master, and acted as his brother's executor after his death. Even more curious, perhaps, is a College order of June 15, 1736, directing the College seal to be affixed "to a deed of assignment of all the Residue and Remainder of a term of 300 years yet to come and unexpired of and in the several advowsons of Fornham All Saints and Westley . . . from Henry Turnor of Bury St. Edmunds to Samuel Crosley, Butler of Clare Hall, in Trust for the College."

* Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities*, pp. 132 and 135.



THE HALL.

We presume that the duties of the office were not in those days what they now are. As the Master was generally the Bursar also, the butler probably acted more or less in the capacity of his private and confidential clerk.

The modest allowance for commons was inadequate upon special occasions of festivity—"exceeding days," as they were called—and we find a College order of Dec. 16, 1559, to allow 2d. extra upon such occasions:

"It was agreed and determyned that ii^d for the Master and everye Fellowe present at any suche daye as by the statute is excedyng daye and nowe kepte holy daye shalle be bestowed on dynner of the same days above the ordinary commons accordyng to the old custome."

For the seventeenth century we have more detailed information, thanks, in some measure, to Dr. Grigg, Master of the College at the beginning of the following century, who has preserved in his *Miscellanea* a truly extraordinary assortment of pieces of information.*

In a note about the College finances for the year 1654, we find that while nine "poor scholars" of the Exeter foundation received only 4d. a week each, the two scholars of the Countess of Exeter's foundation received 1s. 8d. each weekly. The Dean, it may be added, is entered as receiving £2 for his services, and the three lecturers together £9, while the salary of the barber was £1.

The income of the College from chamber rents is estimated at about £15 per annum, but as the new buildings

* Some of the notes appear to have been entered by his successors.

were then in course of erection, we cannot draw any conclusions from this as to the charge for a set of rooms, although the rents obviously cannot have been very high.

The purchasing power of money appears, from the building accounts, to have diminished very considerably towards the end of the seventeenth century, and prices generally rose. Thus we find that scholars on the Diggons foundation were, in 1658, to receive £10 a year in weekly allowances while in residence, and we may conclude that £25 a year was only, with great economy, enough to defray expenses at the University.

Thomas Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, when writing to the Master in favour of a student who proposed to enter the College, says that he held an exhibition of £10 and that his father could allow him £15 more, and he begs the Master to speak to his Tutor to keep him "*wthin y^e compass of his Allowance;*" and Whiston tells us that, as he was obliged to be economical, his whole expenses for the three and a half years, till his first degree, inclusive, did not amount to £100, although he was a pensioner for the last half-year.

The first precise mention of room rents occurs in 1731. In that year it was ordered that the rent of the set of rooms, which is now the reading-room, should be raised from £2 to £3 yearly. In 1736 it was again raised, to £4, while the rent of the *middle rooms* on the staircases was fixed at £6 a year each, and of the other rooms at £3. In 1815 the rent of garrets was raised to £5 and of other rooms to £10 per annum, and these latter raised to £12 in 1836. When the old library (over the College hall) was converted into rooms

in 1818, the rent of each set was fixed at £2 a quarter.

The cost of taking the higher degrees was considerable, owing partly to the entertainments that it was customary for the recipient of the degree to give on the occasion. In Dr. Grigg's *Miscellanea* the cost of the M.A. degree is given as £12 16s. 9d.; the cost of "treat" and "entertainment" is set down at £1 11s. 10d., and the fee to the College at £5 6s. 8d. The Proctor and Taxor were paid respectively £2 7s. 11d. and £2, and the "Father" 10s. The cook received 5s., and the butler, porter, and "Praelector" 2s. 6d. each.

The gratuity to the cook indicates a remarkable degree of magnanimity on the part of the donors towards that official if we are to assume that the dinners and suppers supplied in the College hall were usually as bad as they appear to have been when the following indignant petition was sent by the undergraduates (probably about 1656) to the College authorities upon the subject:

*Dignissime Praefete, Sociique observandi,
Saepe multumque aegre tulimus panes (frumenti pretio iam diu
extenuato, et diminuto) usque adeo parvos, cervisiam (beer)
tenuem admodum, nec satis coctam, carnem insipidam, sub-
rancidam, a coquo male tractatam, et id genus alia quam
plurima. Expectavimus in dies mutationem in melius, frustra
vero. Iam tandem expectando defessi, humillime oramus*

*ffacialis, ut pistor, cervisiarius, Lanio, et huiusmodi
homunciones, non tantum in diem unum vel alterum (ut non
nunquam fit) sed et in perpetuum desinant nobis imponere. Sic
melius famae restrae et commodo etiam tam vestro (uti nos
credimus, alii aliud sentiunt) quam nostro consuletis.*

There are fourteen signatories to this delightful letter; four at least of them subsequently became Fellows, and as the two who head the list were elected in January 1658, the date of the petition can be fixed with tolerable precision.

What the result of the application was we do not know, but we may hope that their own experience as undergraduates made the complainants take steps, when they were themselves admitted on the governing body of the College, to make the cook and the various tradesmen who supplied the College kitchens *permanently* amend their wicked ways.

(2) Some idea of the discipline and government of the College may be gathered from the preceding pages. That it was severe in early times may be assumed not only from the general character of the period, but also from a consideration of the normal age of the students at entering the University; as we shall see presently, the undergraduate of those days entered a College when he was not much older than the modern schoolboy is when he first leaves a private for a public school. Two decrees, however, which were passed by the University in the reign of Elizabeth deserve to be quoted, the first as illustrating the riotous character of the age, the second as illustrating the severity with which misdemeanours were punished.

The first, after forbidding wearing the hair long, wearing silk on the shirts and ruffs, silk hose or gowns other than of cloth, proceeds:

“That no scholler be out of his college in the night season, or *goe a Jetting* and walke the streetes in the night season, *unlesse he goe with the Proctors,*”

and it is declared of these maintainers of University discipline themselves that

"it is the auncient custom that *they shall not goe a Jetting without the licence of the Vice-chancellor*, unlesse it be in time of some suddayne danger or occasion."

The second ordered that if any scholar should go into any river, pool, or other water in the county of Cambridge, by day or night, to swim or wash, he should, if under the degree of B.A., for the first offence be sharply and severely whipped publicly in the common hall of the College in which he dwelt, in the presence of all the fellows, scholars, and others dwelling in the College, and the next day should be again openly whipped in the public school . . . by one of the proctors or some other assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, and for the second offence every such delinquent should be expelled his College and the University for ever. But if he should be a B.A., then for the first offence he should be put in the stocks for a whole day, in the common hall of his College, and should before he was liberated pay 10s. towards the commons of the College, and for the second offence should be expelled his College and the University.

Of the manners and customs during the next hundred years there is not much to be added to what has already been said elsewhere; but a grace of the Senate in 1607 against "excessive drinking and taking tobacco" in taverns and shops, may be mentioned; * penalties were also enjoined upon students who "took tobacco in St. Marys Church in the commencement time."

* Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan Controversies*, vol. ii. p. 224.

We may assume that the subsequent civil troubles relaxed the bonds of discipline during the middle of the century. Later on we find a melancholy picture of the state of affairs in Clare in Whiston's memoirs of his own life; but we must not accept Whiston's statements without considerable reservation. One anecdote which he relates, however, deserves to be quoted. He tells us that soon after he became Fellow, a friend in the next year to him was a candidate for a Fellowship.

"He thought at first that of the electors the major part were on the side of the drinkers; and accordingly forsook his sobriety, and for a month or six weeks drank hard with them at the tavern, till we that were his old sober friends saw it, and discarded him, and resolved to choose a better, because a more sober, candidate, in his room. . . . He at last found his mistake, and that the sober party were likely to be the majority, so he sorely repented of his debauchery, and tried earnestly to recover his old friends' votes, but to no purpose. One circumstance was peculiar to myself, who, during this interval, was walking in the back walk of the College, or rather sitting down in one of the end seats: this unhappy man came to me there and fell down on his knees to me, confessing that he had turned debauchee for preferment, as thinking that was the way then to it in Clare Hall; but solemnly protesting, that if I would believe him, and give him my vote, he would ever afterward become a sober man, as he had been formerly."

One interesting feature of this century deserves to be noticed. We are accustomed to regard the elections of Fellows and Scholars as a matter to be left to the discretion of the Society; anything in the nature of an application on behalf of a candidate for election would

be regarded in the light of an insult to the electors, who may be presumed to know better than any one else who are deserving of election.

But during the ¹⁷eenth century this was not so. We meet with numerous letters of recommendation in favour of particular candidates from persons to whom the Society was indebted, or who possessed (or were supposed to possess) influence with it; and probably such recommendations frequently turned the scale in doubtful cases. Letters of this nature, alike from persons who had been members of the Society and from those who had not, from the Earl of Manchester, from the Bishop of Salisbury, from Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely, John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, and John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, are preserved in the College library. It is true that the words "if you who know him better think him worthy of your favour," or similar expressions, are generally added; yet we cannot but think that the whole practice was undesirable, and calculated to create a distrust in the honesty of all elections.

The interference of the Crown in such cases, of which we find not infrequent instances, was a totally different matter. It was greatly resented, and naturally so; a letter of recommendation from a private person could be ignored, but a mandate from the King put an end at once to the independence of the electors, unless, as in the election of Dr. Blythe to the Mastership, they had timely warning and filled up the vacancy before it could be served upon them.

At the beginning of the ¹⁸eenth century we find several College orders relating to misconduct on the

part of members and the punishments inflicted upon the delinquents. It would appear, however, from what we read of as occurring elsewhere, that Clare was not more disorderly than other Colleges, and from 1730 onwards we note a complete absence of allusions to serious misconduct. It is curious that so many instances of rowdiness should be met with in the years between 1712 and 1730, as the College at that time, when Laughton was Tutor and afterwards, enjoyed a singularly high reputation.

Some of the offences instanced, which might seem at first sight to be offences against good manners only, were in reality studied insults to the memory of King Charles I., and deserved the punishment threatened against similar misdemeanours in the future. Thus we find on February 14, 1715, an entry :

“On y^e 30 of January last past a very great reproach was brought upon the College by some persons meeting together in one of y^e scholars chamber to eat a Calves Head in contempt of the solemnity of that day.”

The meeting unanimously resolved that any one who so offended for the future should be “forthwith expell’d the College.” A few years later (1719) we find it recorded that

“several of the scholars had committed great disorders of late in affronting and insulting Dr Vincent,* by giving

* The Clare undergraduates had evidently no sympathy with the Jacobites; Dr. Vincent probably incurred their dislike on that account. On May 29, 1716, there was a great disturbance in the University, and “the scholars of Clare Hall were miserably insulted for their loyalty to the Government, together with those of Trinity College.” (Cooper, *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 142.)

him opprobrious language, and knocking at his door, and other instances of rudeness towards him."

The penalty denounced against similar offenders in the future was short and sharp—"banishment for the space of a year" on the first occasion, and "expulsion for ever" if the act were repeated.

On another occasion we read of three scholars of the College staying out all night, escaping out of the College "by going round the pillars of the Field gate," creating a disturbance upon the market-hill and threatening the watch, to say nothing of attempting to make a servant drink "to the pious memory of Oliver Cromwell." The sentence of rustication for a whole year passed upon the culprits is spoken of as an act of clemency of the Master and Society, "who desire their Correction and amendment and not their utter ruine."

The breaking of College windows had occurred "several times"; and to put down such practices for the future it was ordered that the penalty should be for the first offence rustication for one year and readmission only after a public recantation; for the second offence the usual formula appears; "he shall be for ever expelled the College." The undergraduate of those days must have been sadly deficient in *esprit de corps* if the authorities could hope for any result from the offer which they made of a pardon to any who within a week gave evidence against his accomplices.

Lastly, two scholars of the College who had taken part in a "great disorder" committed upon the night of Sunday, January 25, 1730, "in throwing down part of the Battlements of the College" were for that and other misconduct "immediately expelled."

There are other orders of about the same date dealing with discipline which may be interesting, and are not of so serious a character as the 'last few cited.

Thus we find that the prohibition against admitting dogs into the College is of no recent date. There is a special College order prohibiting it in the year 1715 :

"It was also at the same time resolv'd, that no Person belonging to the College shall be allow'd to keep any Dog within the College ; and that the Porter and other College Servants shall be commanded to shoot or destroy any that haunt the College, or are brought into it contrary to this Order ; And if any person shall oppose a servant in the execution of this order or abuse him for it, they shall be forthwith Rusticated or further punish'd as the Crime shall deserve."

An order of June 25, 1736, will further serve to show the stringency of the regulations in those days. Besides requiring all persons in the state of pupilage to appear in hall at dinners and suppers and to pay a "constant" attendance on Divine Service in the Chapel "mornings and evenings," the Society further expresses its resolve "to oblige all persons whatsoever in that state to be in their respective Chambers by ten of the clock at night *without any company* either of persons of the College or any others"; further, the College keys were to be carried to the Master or his *locum tenens* at eleven of the clock at night, after which no person whatsoever was allowed to enter or leave the College.

The last clause of this order led (as might have been foreseen) to great inconvenience, and, although it was

in force for twenty-six years, the repeal of it was one of the first acts of Dr. Goddard's Mastership.

In 1771 an order was passed enforcing the usual rules of discipline applicable to all other persons *in statu pupillari* upon undergraduate Fellow-Commoners also; no undergraduate was to be permitted to keep a servant or a horse without an extraordinary reason approved by the Master and his Tutor, and in no case to keep a dog in College. The first part of this order was re-enacted in 1815, when also arrangements were made for marking the attendance in hall; three years later the porter received a quarterly allowance for marking the chapel bell morning and evening.

The following order passed in 1715, which in the interest of conversation at meal-times has fortunately not been insisted upon, may form a good transition to the next subject :

“Whereas it has been a laudable custom pursuant and agreeable to y^e statutes to talk nothing but Latin within y^e Hall during y^e time of dinner and supper except on Sundays and Holydays and when any stranger is in y^e Hall . . . it is agreed upon by us . . . that y^e said custom shall be revived and strictly observ'd.”

The penalty for infringing this order at the Fellows' table was to be a fine of 1*s.* each time, while the Scholars were to be punished “as they formerly were.”

With this may be compared the permission granted to the Universities by Queen Elizabeth in 1560 to use the Common Prayer in Latin in the College Chapels, in order to improve the members in that language.*

Tillotson's practice, in conversing with his pupils, may be found recorded in the appendix to Birch, p. 397.

(3) We have seen in chapter i. that Lady Clare's statutes contemplated the maintenance of *ten* poor scholars upon her foundation. They were to receive instruction in *singing*, *grammar*, and *dialectic*. Upon the completion of their twentieth year, they were to quit the College, unless elected into Fellowships.

This number appears, however, to have been rarely, if ever, maintained. From the deed of 1446, quoted in chapter ii., we find that there were then but four such scholars, or bible-clerks (*bibliotistæ*), as they are sometimes called, and the same number, with a Master's scholar, appears in 1546.

Notices of the elections of seventy-three scholars between the years 1448 and 1562 have been preserved; the elections in some instances come together in groups of two or three in the same year, and this makes us suspect that the list is far from complete; otherwise the number elected (seventy-three) would be sufficient to keep four places filled, if the average duration of residence was a trifle over six years, and that it might have been nearly as long as this is shown by a comparison of the average age at entry with the age at which the scholar had to leave the College. The ages of seventeen are not recorded, and there are traces of uncertainty in the case of others, but, allowing for this, the net result is remarkable; thirty-eight out of the fifty-six were in their fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth year at the time of admission, and the average age at entry of all the fifty-six is barely fourteen and a quarter years.

The average age in the eighteenth century appears

from Canon Wordsworth's statistics* to have been seventeen and a half; and this fully accounts for the difference in the punishments inflicted for misconduct in the sixteenth and in the eighteenth century; in the latter century *rustication* has entirely superseded the *public. whipping* of the earlier time.

Space will not permit us to enlarge upon the course of study pursued in the University in old times. It will be sufficient here to remark that the stress laid by our Foundress upon *grammatica*, or Latin grammar, as a subject of instruction shows that the student in the fourteenth century was not expected to have learnt much beyond reading and writing and perhaps the elements of Latin at the time of his admission. Grammar schools, however, must have been tolerably numerous in the country at that time, or at any rate shortly afterwards, although it would seem that the *Statute of Heretics* at the beginning of the next century, by which the Bishops were authorised to imprison all schoolmasters infected with heretical teaching, with other repressive measures, dealt many of them a heavy blow.

Bingham in his petition to the king in 1439 for permission to found "God's House" (see chapter ii.) draws a melancholy picture of the state of education in the country. No less than seventy schools, he says, between Hampton and Ripon, that had once been filled, were now empty for want of teachers of grammar.

Dialectica, by which is meant the schoolmen's logic, is also specified as one of the subjects in which instruction

* *Social Life at the English Universities*, p. 95.

was to be given. Rhetoric, however, the last subject in the ordinary course, or *trivium*, is not mentioned.

In 1535 King Henry VIII. issued important injunctions for the regulation of the teaching given in the University. These regulations constitute an era in the history of education in the University, and from them we may date the rise of the present system.

The chief of these regulations were as follows:

(1) That daily lectures in Greek and Latin should be given in the Colleges of the University.

(2) That Divinity lectures should be delivered upon the actual Scriptures, and that no lectures should be given upon the writings of the Doctors who had commented upon the *Sentences* (formulated by Peter Lombard in the twelfth century to give a complete view of the cardinal doctrines of the Christian belief as sanctioned by the Church of Rome).

(3) That, as the whole nation had renounced the Pope's authority, no degrees should be conferred in *canon law*.

The original statutes of our Foundress were superseded by fresh statutes in 1551, and the regulations which they lay down for the instruction to be provided in the College are, as might have been anticipated, entirely different from those in the earlier statutes.

In the earlier we read only of ten *discipuli*, for whose education provision was to be made; but in these new statutes we find mention made not only of *pensionarii* but also of *discipuli*, *sizatores*, and *subsizatores*. Down to this date we hear only of the *bibliotistæ* with whom the reader is already familiar, and the first of the new scholarships was not founded till 1555.

By Lady Clare's statutes three Masters of Arts of

the College were required to lecture; we now find the number of lecturers doubled, not to mention the *Prælector*.

Perhaps the present undergraduate will be interested to know what lectures he would have had to attend had he lived in those days.

The *Prælector* was required to lecture every weekday (*ferialis dies*) during full term, and in the long vacation till September 1, upon dialectic or philosophy. But besides this the students were arranged in four classes (apparently according to standing) which were allocated to the First Reader and the three Sub-Readers respectively.

The fourth class was to study some introductory treatise upon dialectic; the third class read Porphyry's *Prædicabilia* or Aristotle's *Prædicamenta* or *De Interpretatione*; the second class was promoted to Aristotle's *Topica*, *Analytica*, or *Elenchi*, or Sturmius's *Dialecticæ partitiones*, or Agricola's *De Inventione*; the first class was to confine its attention entirely to Aristotle, reading either the *Physica*, the *De Anima*, or another treatise from a list specified.

Of the remaining two lecturers one was to lecture upon Greek, the other upon Rhetoric. The Greek lecturer might lecture upon any well-known author, but *Isocrates*, *Demosthenes*, *Plato*, *Homer*, *Pindar*, and *Hesiod* are selected for special mention. The Rhetoric lecturer was to lecture upon Cicero by preference.

Regulations are given for the time to be spent at each lecture in catechising the different classes, as well as for the punishments inflicted upon those who absented themselves or came late.

The lecturers were to be paid by the College. The First Reader and the Greek and Rhetoric lecturers were to receive 10*s.* a quarter each, the Sub-Readers apparently 6*s.* each a quarter.

It appears, however, that these statutes were not complied with in all their details; in certain proposals (preserved by Baker, MS. vol. ii. p. 151) for allocating the revenues of St. John's Hospital, Ely, in the time of Dr. Leeds, we find mention of *four* lecturers only, and it appears doubtful whether more than three were already appointed at that time. Of the Praelector and the two other Sub-Readers we have no mention.

In the accounts for the year 1654 (already quoted) we find mention of a Greek lecturer, and three lecturers with a stipend of, apparently, £3 each.

We may assume from the statement that the stipends of these latter were "grounded upon Dr. Leeds' statutes only," that their stipends were fixed by the Act of Parliament which confirmed to the College the revenues of St. John's Hospital, although these revenues were allocated to another object, viz., to the maintenance of ten scholars.

It is proposed in 1654, by way of economy, to reduce these stipends as well as the stipend of the Dean; but whether this was done or not we do not know.

In 1766 we find a College order enjoining that Bachelors of Law should pay £9 more in future for their degree, to be divided between the three lecturers, viz., the Praelector, the Logic Lecturer, and the Hall Lecturer.

The old terms, Praelector, Logic Lecturer, Greek Lecturer, and Hall Lecturer, were still retained till the

new statutes of 1861, although they had long since ceased to have any special significance. The office of *Prælector* was generally held by the senior Fellow in College; he did not lecture, and it may be thought, from the omission of all mention of the office in two of the notices quoted above, that lecturing never formed an important part of his duties. The Hall Lecturer's chief function was to set Latin themes to the freshmen.

(4) It would be beside the mark in a sketch like the present to attempt any detailed account of the sports and pastimes in vogue at different times in the University; it will suffice here briefly to indicate a few leading facts.

Boating (or, at least, boat-racing), cricket, and the like, are of comparatively modern development. Football, on the other hand, in some shape or other, appears to have been popular in early times in the University, as it was generally throughout the country. Strutt has traced the game as far back as the reign of Edward III., who, in 1349, issued an edict against it, apparently because it was becoming popular, to the neglect of archery. The earliest notice of football in the University, so far as I have been able to discover, occurs about 1580. The certificate of Dr. Andrew Perne, in May 1581, which is quoted by Cooper, describes a "fote ball match" which was played two years before "betwixt certain Schollers of Cambridge and divers of Chesterton," in which the people of Chesterton fell upon and beat the scholars with staves, so that "divers had there heads broken, divers being otherwise greatly beaten, wear driven to runne throughe the river." In short the roughs of Chesterton appear to have made good use of

the opportunity afforded them of exhibiting their antipathy to the members of the University, and we cannot be surprised that the following year (1580) a decree was issued by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads prohibiting scholars from playing the game except within the precincts of their several Colleges; and even there no strangers or scholars of other Colleges were allowed to take part in the game.

In 1595 this order against the "hurtfull and unscholerlike exercise of Football" (as it is here called), except within "places severall to ye Colledges," was re-enacted, and a prohibition was issued against scholars resorting to "Bull-baytings, Bear-baytings, Common bowling places, Nine-hoals or suchlike unlawfull games," as well as against the carrying and using of "Dagges, Gunnes, Crossbowes or Stonbowes."

The aversion of the timid James I. to football is well known. He patronised golf (as might have been expected), but he debarred from his Court "all rough and violent exercises, as the football, meeter" (as he says) "for lameing than making able the users thereof," and in a letter to the University, July 23, 1604, he forbade "all manner of unprofitable or idle games plays or exercises . . . especially bull-baiting, bear-baiting . . . games at loggets, nine-holes &c.," although this prohibition was not designed "to abridge the students of their accustomed exercises in any kind whatsoever within their several colleges."

With the prohibition against bull-baiting and bear-baiting we can fully sympathise, although the grounds of our objection would probably not be exactly the same as those of King James, but what reason there

could be for the prohibition of "nine-holes" and "loggets" it is hard to see ; they appear to us the most innocent, and, we may add, the most unattractive of games. Nine-holes, as its name indicates, was played with a square board perforated with nine holes, which was set on the ground ; the players had small metal balls, which they tried to roll into these holes. "Loggets" or "loggats" appears to have been equally harmless. It was something like ninepins, but was played with bones instead of wooden pins. The reader will doubtless recall Hamlet's words in the scene with the grave-diggers (Act v. sc. i.), " Did these bones cost no more the breeding, but to play at loggats with 'em ? Mine ache to think on't."

It is clear that the tendency in those days was *restrictive* ; so far were the University and College authorities from encouraging the exercises of the undergraduates, that they treated them merely as subservient to the needs of health ; for all their study of Plato they overlooked the lesson which that philosopher had learnt and could have taught them. It may, indeed, be questioned whether we are not now running to extremes ; mere dexterity in games is fast tending to become an end in itself, and the modern spirit of specialisation manifests itself no less in the playground than in the more serious business of life ; yet there can be no shadow of doubt that the moral tone of the University is enormously indebted to the modern enthusiasm for sports, which, while providing a legitimate outlet to the high spirits and energies of youth, impose a voluntary system of self-denial which may be of the highest educational value to those who are brought under its influence.

We must not, however, overlook a form of amusement which was exceedingly popular at the University in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Plays, whether in English or in Latin, seem to have then filled the place now taken by the College concert and the College ball, and the audiences which they attracted prove that the regulations for the encouragement of Latin were not altogether without success. George Ruggle, a Fellow of Clare, of whom we have already spoken, was especially famous as a playwright, and his comedy of *Ignoramus** was acted before King James I. upon the occasion of his visit to Cambridge in March 1615.

Ruggle was a first-rate Italian scholar, and *Ignoramus* was modelled, as we have already mentioned, upon an Italian comedy—the *Trappolaria* of Giovanni Battista della Porta, which was itself suggested by the *Pseudolus* of Plautus. It was intended to caricature the pedantry of the lawyers of the day, and was especially aimed at Brakin, Recorder of Cambridge, who had made himself peculiarly offensive to the University by the part which he had taken shortly before in an ignoble squabble between the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor on the question of precedence.

A letter written at the time gives us a lively account of the performance :

“The second night [March 8] was a comedy of Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other

* See the contribution of the Rev. C. L. Feltoe to the *Cambridge Review* of May 21, 1884. Mr. Feltoe gives a brief sketch of the play with an account of the subsequent career of some of the more important actors. Lord Compton's son acted the part of a *page* and a *dwarf servant-girl*, which explains the allusion in the words *though least*.

houses, wherein David Drummond in a hobby horse, and Brakin the recorder of the town, under the name of *Ignoramus*, a common lawyer, bare great part. The thing was full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors (among whom the Lord Compton's son, though least, was not worst), but more than half marred with extreme length.'

So much was the King delighted with the play that, as the actors could not be prevailed upon to come to town, he actually resolved to return himself to Cambridge for the sake of seeing the performance a second time. He arrived on May 13, and we are told that

"about 8 of the clock the play began and ended about one ; his majesty was much delighted with the play, and laughed exceedingly ; and oftentimes, with his hands, and by words, applauded it."

It provoked, however, an unreasonable degree of indignation in legal circles ; and we read that the Lord Chief Justice (Sir E. Coke)

"both openly at the King's Bench, and divers other places, hath galled and glanced at scholars with much bitterness ; and there be divers inns of court men have made rhymes and ballads against them, which they have answered sharply enough ; and, to say truth, it was a scandal rather taken than given ; for what profession is there wherein some particular persons may not be justly taxed without imputation to the whole ? But it is the old saying, 'Conscius ipse sibi.' "*

Ignoramus commanded an extraordinary popularity during the early part of last century ; it was acted at

* Letter from Mr. Chamberlain, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 88.

Westminster, instead of the usual play of Plautus or Terence, in 1712, 1713, 1730, and 1747, and, passed through numerous editions. But it is hard for the modern reader to understand its success. Its length and its coarseness are against it, and the jargon with which it is crammed is not very amusing nowadays. It might, however, appear more humorous on the stage if set off by good acting.

John Hayward, Master of Arts and a member of our College, declares in a note written in his MS. copy of *Ignoramus* in 1741, that Ruggle also wrote *Revera* and *Club Law*. Of *Revera* I know nothing; but the performance of *Club Law* (acted apparently in 1597 or 1598) is one of the most laughable episodes in the history of Clare. Fuller (p. 294) tells the story in his own inimitable manner, and the reader will probably thank us for giving it in full:

“ The young scholars conceiving themselves somewhat wronged by the townsmen, (the particulars whereof I know not) betook them for revenge to their wits, as the weapon wherein lay their best advantage. These having gotten a discovery of some town-privacies, from Miles Goldsbrough (one of their own corporation) composed a merry (but abusive) comedy, (which they called *Club-Law*) in English, as calculated for the capacities of such, whoin they intended spectators thereof. Clare-Hall was the place wherein it was acted, and the mayor, with his brethren, and their wives, were invited to behold it, or rather themselves abused therein. A convenient place was assigned to the townsfolk, (riveted in with scholars on all sides) where they might see and be seen. Here they did behold themselves in their own best clothes (which the scholars

had borrowed) so lively personated, their habits, gestures, language, lieger-jests, and expressions, that it was hard to decide, which was the true townsman, whether he that sat by, or he who acted on the stage. Sit still they could not for chafing, go out they could not for crowding, but impatiently patient were fain to attend till dismissed at the end of the comedy.

“The mayor and his brethren soon after complain of this libellous play to the lords of the privy council, and truly aggravate the scholars offence, as if the mayor’s mace could not be played with, but that the sceptre itself is touched therein. Now, though such the gravity of the lords, as they must maintain magistracy, and not behold it abused; yet such their goodness, they would not with too much severity punish wit, though waggishly employed; and therefore only sent some slight and private check to the principal actors therein.

“There goeth a tradition, many earnestly engaging for the truth thereof, that the townsmen not contented herewith, importunately pressed, that some more severe and public punishment might be inflicted upon them. Hereupon, the lords promised in short time to come to Cambridge, and (because the life in such things is lacking when only read) they themselves would see the same comedy, with all the properties thereof, acted over again, (the townsmen as formerly, being enjoined to be present thereat) that so they might the better proportion the punishment to the fault, if any appeared. But rather than the townsmen would be witnesses again to their own abusing, (wherein many things were too far from, and some things too near to truth) they fairly fell off from any farther prosecution of the matter.”

CHAPTER VIII

MODERN TIMES

"Past and to come seems best; things present, worst."
SHAKESPEARE.

Masters: John Torkington, 1781-1815, William Webb, 1815-1856;
Edward Atkinson, 1856.

Upon Dr. Goddard's death, John Torkington, B.D., was elected to succeed him. The choice was, however, by no means unanimous, as in the preceding three instances.

The new Master had not been placed high in the Tripos list of 1766. He may, however, have been distinguished as a scholar, if not as a mathematician, or his place may not have fairly represented his ability. His father* was Rector of Little Stukeley in Huntingdonshire, and his sister, who married (in 1764) Dr. John Jebb of Peterhouse, was a woman of remarkable ability and, under the *nom de plume* of Priscilla, ably supported her husband in his schemes for University reform.

That delightful anecdotist Mr. Gunning, in his *Reminiscences*, gives us a few items of special information about Clare at the end of last century, and we can only regret that he has not given us more. It appears, from

* Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities*, pp. 333 *foli.*

.what he tells us, that Torkington made a good Vice-Chancellor, the manner in which he discharged his social duties being particularly conspicuous. In those days (as indeed was the case till recently) the Vice-Chancellor was expected to entertain during his year of office all the Masters of Arts resident in the University.

“ In one particular ” (says Gunning) “ Dr. Torkington acquitted himself admirably; his dinners were conducted in a style with which the University was previously unacquainted, his desserts were most magnificent, and the fruits chiefly the produce of his own garden.”

From the College Order Book we may quote two or three entries of his Mastership. Upon February 28, 1798, it was agreed

“ that the sum of two hundred pounds be taken out of the College stock, and applied towards the voluntary subscription now raising for the defence of the nation.”

An order of 1807 suggests that the Society of that day accepted the common tradition that Lady Clare was buried at Ware :

“ That the inscription to the memory of Lady Clare, at Ware Church in Hertfordshire, being through lapse of time nearly obliterated, be re-engraved upon a tablet of Marble, together with a further inscription, signifying that it was restored at the expence of the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall.”

Another of the same date indicates a desire to improve the College library :

“ That all Persons who shall hereafter take the degree of B.D. or D.D. shall, instead of giving a supper on the day

of keeping their Act, pay six pounds, or Books of that value to the use of the Library."

It must not be supposed, however, that the Society at this time was altogether neglectful of the claims of hospitality. The Master, as we have seen, set a good example in this respect, and in 1812 we find an order to lay out a sum of £221, together with money obtained by selling old building materials at Braintree, "in the purchase of Hock"; we wonder whether it was some of this hock which caused an elderly don of another College, who had been accepting the hospitality of the Society, to come into collision with one of the posts which then barred the Senate house passage, and indignantly to order the offender to his rooms.

During these years we read of several fresh benefactions to the Scholarships and Fellowships, and apart from this the revenues appear to have been steadily increasing.

In 1783 the Rev. Gilbert Bouchery, formerly Fellow, gave the reversion of an estate in Romney Marsh, for the augmentation of the Fellowships of the Diggons and Exeter Foundations; this bequest accrued to the College in 1810, and was then worth about £100 a year; by 1823 the income of the Diggons Foundation, originally £130 a year, had increased to above £400, and in that year the number of Fellowships upon this Foundation was doubled. The holders of these new Diggons Fellowships were, however, under no obligation, like the others, to enter into Holy Orders.

Orders for the augmentation of the payments to the various Scholars and Fellows occur frequently, and we

may select as an indication of the increasing wealth of the Society an order of 1814; it was then agreed "that the quarterly allowance of £7 10s. made to the Master in consequence of the order of September 28, 1762, be increased to £75."

We have already noticed the marked falling off in the number of distinguished members of the College under Goddard; this falling off is equally conspicuous during Torkington's Mastership; in fact, we can point to three only in whom the reader is likely to be interested: Samuel Burder, afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Kent, and author of *Oriental Customs in illustration of the Scriptures*, Hon. George Pelham, successively Bishop of Bristol, Exeter, and Lincoln, and Daniel Corrie, afterwards Bishop of Madras. The latter, however, subsequently migrated to Trinity Hall, so that we cannot lay undivided claim to him.

Dr. Torkington had been in failing health for some time before his death; for the last eighteen months of his life he was absent from most of the College meetings, and could only make his mark when he was present. He died on July 11, 1815, and was succeeded by William Webb, B.D., who was elected unanimously.

It may have puzzled some of the old members of the College to find no mention of Dr. Webb in the *Tripos* lists; the explanation is that he took an *ægrotat* degree: "1797. W. Webb, Clare, ægrot. in I^{ma} quæstionistarum classe."* He was elected to a Fellowship in 1799, and had been presented in 1812 to the College

* Quoted from the record in the Registry's office by Canon Wordsworth, *University Studies*, p. 362.

living of Litlington. In May 1815 he had been promoted to the combined livings of Fornham All Saints and Westley,* which he resigned upon his election as Master two months later.

Upon July 21, the day following the election of the new Master, a College meeting was held, at which orders were passed for the reorganisation of the Master's lodge and for introducing improvements in the west front of the College, as has been already related.

We now come to the last act in the Butt close controversy already mentioned in the chapter upon the College Buildings. It will be remembered that the arrangement then made was that King's College should lease Butt close to Clare for twenty years at a rent of £5 a year, the lease to be necessarily renewed whenever it ran out, while Clare was to lease the little strip of land in front of the south end of the east range on similar terms to King's College for a rent of 1s. per annum. This settlement had been arrived at in order to avoid the actual alienation of its land by either College.

Negotiations began in March 1817; the Provost and Fellows of King's College having sent notice to the authorities of Clare to give up Butt close, the latter protested that they held it by authority of the letter from Charles I. already referred to. It was next proposed to exchange Butt close for the piece of ground between Clare and King's Chapel, and the White Horse Inn between King's Lane and the Bull. The Fellows

* He married the daughter of the Rev. T. V. Gould, his predecessor in that living. The name was pronounced "gold" and, as she brought him a large fortune, it gave rise to a feeble pun among his contemporaries.

CLARE COLLEGE, WEST FRONT



of Clare consented to negotiate, but nothing material occurred till November 1819, when they were asked to consent to put King's College into possession of the White Horse Inn by March 25, 1822, to grant permission to put up and maintain a *chevaux de frise*, or other iron fence, on the south side of Clare Hall walk, and to bind themselves "not to raise houses or buildings on Butt close under a penalty of £5000."

To this last condition consent was, not unnaturally, refused ; the Fellows of King's College were ready to consent to a similar stipulation in reference to the piece of ground belonging to Clare in their Chapel yard, and to make the clause in the case of Butt close applicable only to dwelling-houses or habitable buildings ; but it was agreed to reply : "The Society of Clare Hall cannot agree to any Bond as to what shall in future be done with the Butts close." They did, however, in 1820, agree that if they or their successors sold the ground, or leased it for a term of years for the erection of buildings, or without inserting a clause prohibiting the erection of buildings, the obligation in question should have effect.

Finally, the exchange was agreed to, and an Act of Parliament for the purpose obtained on May 30, 1823 ; the only permanent conditions being that a right of re-entry should be reserved to either party if the title of either property were disputed and invalidated ; that King's College might at any time put up and maintain the *chevaux de frise*, or other iron fence, already mentioned, and a sluice across the ditch at the end of the walk ; and that a right of footpath three feet wide from their field-gate to Gerrard's Hostel lane should be reserved to Clare.

Thus, after more than six years of negotiation, the exchange was finally effected. The negotiations have been given at considerable length, for they show the tenacity with which the Society clung to its resolution not to pledge the College never to erect buildings on the ground across the river. The firmness then displayed has saved the legal right to build additional College buildings there if it be ever thought desirable.

Another important change in the College was also carried out while these protracted negotiations were in progress. The space over the hall hitherto utilised as an overflow library was, as has been already mentioned, rearranged in 1818 for the accommodation of undergraduates; the space over the combination-room was also turned into rooms at the same time.

The activity displayed in the early years of Dr. Webb's Mastership forms a striking contrast to the want of enterprise which characterised so much of the preceding fifty years. The erection of the new Chapel would appear to have quite exhausted the energies of the Society for the time.

More important, however, than all these structural alterations in the College buildings was the great reform in the system of letting the College farms which Dr. Webb effected, and by which the revenues of the College were apparently largely increased.

Dr. Webb was a keen agriculturist, with a special predilection for pigs, and many humorous stories of his interest in these animals are told by old members of the College.

Yet, after all, when the Master of a College is also its Bursar, a capacity for business is no less useful than

scholastic attainments, and the reform in question, upon which Dr. Webb appears to have set his heart for some time before he became Master, required considerable financial ability as well as tact to carry out. By the system then in vogue the College estates were usually let for periods of twenty-one years, and the leases renewed every seven years, the tenant paying a *fine* for such renewal. It is obvious that the present value of an adequate annual rent might have been calculated accurately, and the College revenues have suffered nothing from the system; but, as the fine meant a payment at once to the Fellows at the time, there was clearly a great temptation to accept an inadequate amount in order to secure this immediate profit. It is possible that the losses which the College thus incurred have been considerably exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the whole system was a radically bad one.

To meet the losses that would be incurred by the present holders of Fellowships in effecting this reform, considerable sums were borrowed and repaid as the finances of the Society permitted; this must have added considerably to the labours of the Master in his capacity of Bursar, and we must feel grateful to Dr. Webb for the courage and success with which he carried out his arduous undertaking.

The passing of the Enclosures Act perhaps increased the revenues even more than this reform. From 1841 onwards we meet with frequent orders for the increase of the stipends of the Master and Fellows, and we may also mention in this connection a gift in 1832 of £1270 from the Rev. F. W. Lodington, sometime Fellow, for the augmentation of the two senior of the Junior

Fellowships. Three fresh scholarships were also founded about this time—by Benjamin Cherry, Esq., in 1836, the Rev. M. A. Stephenson in 1846, and the Rev. John Hinman in 1850, respectively.

The number of distinguished members of the College during this time is hardly greater than under the last two Masters, and the distinctions won were almost without exception academical only.

Alfred Power, admitted in 1821, was afterwards chief Poor-law Commissioner for Ireland, and K.C.B.; George Hall Bowers, admitted in 1819, was subsequently Dean of Manchester; William Henry Hanson, admitted in 1822, was elected Fellow in 1828, and in the same year elected Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, and Fellow and Tutor of Caius College in the following year. Joseph Power, admitted in 1817, and elected Fellow in 1823, succeeded Hanson as Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall in 1829, was re-elected at Clare in 1844, and chosen University Librarian in 1845. Matthew Wilkinson, admitted in 1831, was elected a Fellow in 1836, and was afterwards first Headmaster of the newly founded Marlborough College. Charles Blachford Mansfield entered in 1836 but did not, owing to ill-health, take his B.A. degree till ten years later. He was a distinguished chemist, and lost his life in 1855 in consequence of an accident while carrying out an experiment. He was only thirty-six years of age at the time, and if we may judge from what has been written of him he might have made a great reputation in the scientific world had his life not been prematurely cut short.

Dr. Webb died at the end of 1855, and our present Master was elected to succeed him upon January 14, 1856.

He had already rendered the Society most valuable services as Vice-Master, and the election was deservedly popular.

Active as Dr. Webb had been at the beginning of his life, he appears to have neglected to keep abreast of the times in his old age; at any rate many improvements were now becoming highly desirable, and with a young and capable Master at the head of affairs they were soon taken in hand.

The College Chapel was repainted at a cost of £150 in 1857, and the fields at the back of the College across the turnpike road were laid out as a garden, in accordance with plans prepared by Mr. Stretton; the work being completed by May 1859.

Many changes were also introduced into the establishment arrangements; the charges for admission, for keeping the name on the Boards of the College, for degree fees, and for tuition were reconsidered and fixed. And the old practice whereby the cook, butler, porter, and scull received a share in admission fees, degree fees, and College payments was abolished in favour of fixed wages.

Fixed stipends were introduced generally; in lieu of increments hitherto allowed upon buttery accounts the Master, the Senior Fellows, and the Praelector, Dean, and Hall and Logic lecturers, received definite allowances per annum. A year or two later the old *corn rents* paid to the Master and Senior Fellows were commuted for a fixed annual payment.

The admission of any person to the College as a sizar was discontinued by an order of October 4, 1860, and the whole system of College lectures was also recast. The

offices of Logic and Hall lecturer were abolished, and lecturers in classics and mathematics substituted. The offices of Dean and Praelector were combined, and the old payments made by the clerical Fellows to the Dean (presumably as remuneration for discharging their duties for them) were abolished.

By the new statutes in 1861 all by-Fellowships were abolished and the distinction of Exeter, Freeman, and Diggons Foundations came to an end. The revenues were consolidated, and the number of Fellowships fixed at seventeen, unless a falling off in the revenues rendered a decrease of this number desirable. The eight senior Fellows were entrusted with the entire control of all matters pertaining to the finances of the College, but in other respects the junior Fellows were on an equality with them.

A similar consolidation of the various endowments of scholarships took place, with the exception of such as were restricted by the founders to candidates from particular schools.

We may observe too the change that had come over the social life of the undergraduates, which is betokened by an order of May 11, 1865:

“That a further portion of the land mentioned in the preceding order be laid out for the use of the members of the College as a cricket ground at an expense not exceeding £150.”

In the next year our attention is again directed to the Chapel. Upon April 27, 1866, a College choir was established, and in the same year (October 25) the offer of the Rev. Dr. Coles, of Honington near Grantham, to

fill the remaining nine windows of the College Chapel with stained glass was accepted.

A year later Mrs. de Bosset bequeathed £6000 to found three scholarships, with a preference to sons of clergymen, and Dr. Coles at his death left over £13,000, with which one Fellowship and four scholarships were established.*

- In 1868 it was proposed to refurnish and decorate the combination-room, and this was followed by an order to expend the sum of £1000 in restoring and decorating the College hall. Sir M. Digby Wyatt having estimated the cost of the proposed improvements in the hall at £2700, it was resolved (April 28, 1870) to accept his plans as the basis of the improvements to be made, but the Master and Fellows in College were requested to confer with him with a view to introduce such modifications as would bring the expense as nearly as practicable within £2000. The sums, however, which were expended upon this object appear to have amounted in all to about £3500.

In 1876 it was agreed to enlarge the cricket-ground, and level it at the expense of the College; negotiations were also opened with the authorities of King's College for the formation of a joint ground.

The needs of the cricket, football, and other clubs were thus amply met: it is no unjustifiable boast that the King's and Clare ground is one of the best in the

* This had been increased by accumulations of interest to over £14,000 when it was finally received by the College in March 1870. Dr. Coles also left his ~~son~~ £300 a year for his life, the principal (about £11,000) to come to the College after his death. Another Fellowship and one scholarship were founded with this further bequest in 1883.

University, and as the land belongs to the two Colleges concerned, the tenure is assured to the clubs at a reasonable rent as long as they continue to exist.

The erection of a joint pavilion upon the ground, with a cottage for the ground-man, was successfully carried out by the combined clubs some ten years ago, at a cost of about £1000.

A subscription list was recently opened to build a College boathouse to meet the modern requirements of boating-men. The boathouse has been built, and is a great success. The undertaking was a more serious one than the building of a pavilion, as the expense was necessarily much heavier (including as it did the purchase of the site) and was not, as in the case of the pavilion, defrayed by two clubs in common.

It would be invidious to follow the plan hitherto pursued and append a list of those who during the last fifty years have maintained the reputation of our College, in the University and beyond it, as a home of piety and learning. The number of those who annually seek admission is an index of its present popularity, and we may hope that this popularity is not wholly unmerited. It is for us, who have the honour to be enrolled as members of this most ancient Foundation, to hand down its best traditions undimmed to those who shall come after us, to remember the debt which we owe to our Mother, and to cherish towards her the spirit that breathes in our great poet's words—the embodiment of perfect patriotism :

“ Here and here did England help me ;
How can I help England ? ”—say.

APPENDIX A

OUR Foundress was the third daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, commonly called the Red, by his wife Joan, daughter of Edward I., and was sister and coheiress of the Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who fell at Bannockburn in 1314. She was thus first cousin to King Edward III.

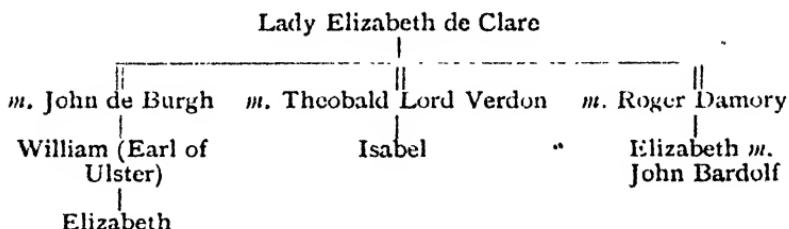
The family of de Clare, says Cole, 'was so great and eminent in y^e time of K. Hen. 3^d y^t y^e Arms of Richard de Clare Earl of Gloucester stand embossed and painted on y^e N. Wall of Westminster Abbey, next to those of St Louis, K. of France: and there were few Cathedrals or Religious Houses in England in y^e Reigns of K^s Ed: y^e 1st & 2nd whose windows were not adorned with y^e 3 chevronels gules in a Field Or; so vast were y^e Revenues of this illustrious family of Clare, y^e Arms of w^{ch} Family are also in several of y^e Church Windows in this county.'

Lady Elizabeth was married three times.

First to John de Burgh, son and heir of Richard Earl of Ulster. He died (1313) in his father's lifetime, and their only child, William de Burgh, therefore succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Ulster. He died before his mother, so that Lady Clare's heiress was his daughter, her granddaughter.

Secondly (in 1315) to Theobald, Lord Verdon, who died next year. ~~Her~~ daughter by Lord Verdon was born after her father's death, and was called Isabel.

Thirdly to Roger Damory, Baron of Armoy in Ireland. Roger Damory was attainted in 1321. His life was spared, but he died the same year. Their only daughter was named Elizabeth, and married John Bardolf.



She died Nov. 4, 1360. Her will (see Nichols' *Royal, &c., Wills*) is twenty pages long and comprises an extraordinary number of bequests. Her heiress was her grand daughter Elizabeth, of whom she speaks as "*my daughter, Countess of Ulster.*" To Clare College she left £40, and a considerable quantity of plate, viz.: one censer of silver gilt, six chargers, thirty-nine saucers, one ship for the almonry, in aiding of the buildings; also, for a perpetual memorial and for the use of her Chaplains in the College, two chalices of silver gilt, with two little spoons, two cruets, one box silver and enamelled, with the furniture for the body of our Lord, and one censer, with one ship of silver, for incense.

There is no doubt that she was buried, not (as is usually asserted, after Weever,) at Ware, but in the Church of the Minories in London. Her tomb must have been destroyed with the Church itself in the sixteenth century; but the fact that she was buried there is proved by the directions left in his will by the Earl of Pembroke (Nichols' *Royal, &c., Wills*, p. 92) that his tomb should be made like that of Lady Elizabeth de Burgh in the Church of the sisters Minories beyond Aldgate in London.

APPENDIX B

THE LIVINGS IN THE GIFT OF THE COLLEGE

FOUR of the College livings were given by the Foundress, —Litlington, Great Gransden, Duxford (St. John) and Wrawby.

— The rectory of Everton was purchased in 1544 for the sum of £144, Walter Worlych, of Potton, contributing £40 towards the purchase money. (See p. 39.)

The rest have been bought with the income of the Blythe trust: viz.,

Patrington in 1717

Orcheston St. Mary in 1718

Ockley in 1724

Elmset in 1724

Datchworth in 1725

Waldingfield in 1729

Rotherhithe in 1730

Fornham All Saints and Westley in 1736

Hardingham in 1736

Brington cum Bythorn and Old Weston in 1736.

Further purchases were prevented by the terms of an Act of Parliament passed in 1736, and, accordingly, in 1763 the livings of Everton and Great Gransden were augmented to £90, and £115, a year, respectively.

The funds were once more set at liberty by the repeal of this Act of Parliament about 1824.

The livings of Everton and Great Gransden were made up to £200 a year each in 1825, and this was followed by the purchase of three more livings: viz.,

Birdbrooke in 1836

Guestling in 1857

Duxford (St. Peter) in 1869.

In 1870 £4000 was devoted from the Blythe trust to the augmentation of the living of Wrawby, to enable a portion of the income of the vicarage to be appropriated to the endowment of the new district of Brigg; and in 1893 the sum of £2000 was made over for the augmentation of the living of Litlington.

ADDENDA

SINCE the foregoing pages have appeared in print, Mr. J. E. Foster has courteously communicated to me some entries in the volumes of Papal letters and Petitions from the Calendar of Papal Registers, published by the Royal Commissioners, which enable me to add some further details to the above account of the College in the earliest times.

In the third volume of Papal letters, p. 253, is a notice of the appropriation, on the petition of Elisabeth de Burgo, Lady of Clare, in the diocese of Norwich, of the churches of Great Grandisden, value 50 marks, St. John's Debisworth (Dokesworth?), value 25 marks, and of Wrawby, value 34 marks, the vicars' portions being reserved. The date is 15 Kal. Mar 1348.

In the first volume of Petitions, p. 529, is an interesting petition, dated 7 Id. Jul 1366, of John Duke of Lancaster on behalf of his clerk, John Chaterys, M A, warden of the scholars' college of Clare Hall, lately proctor or rector of the University, for three years scholar of civil law, for a benefice in the gift of the abbot and convent of Thorney, value 53 marks with cure of souls or 30 without, notwithstanding that he has the church of Burton in the diocese of Lichfield, value 12 marks, which he is ready to resign, and a canonry of Southwell with expectation of a prebend.

This would seem to indicate that John Chaterys was a man of more note than might otherwise have been supposed. It is difficult, however, to reconcile the date with the records preserved in the College: perhaps he was twice Master, vacating the Mastership in the first instance in consequence of this valuable preferment.

More important, however, is the light thrown by these documents upon the building of our earliest Chapel.

In the third volume of Papal letters, p. 269, is a notice of a licence granted 15 Kal Mar 1348 to Elisabeth de Burgo, to build and found a chapel in the house called 'Clare Hall,' and in the first volume of Petitions, p. 11, is a petition to the Pope (granted prid. Id. Dec. 1363, at Avignon), from the master and scholars to have a chapel within their walls without prejudice to the parish church, its tithes, oblations, burial or other rights.

ADDENDA

It may be surmised that a protest had been made on behalf of the parish church against the proposed chapel, and that our Foundress, when she gave us our statutes in 1359, had abandoned the design. The Society, however, was by no means disposed to acquiesce in this, and petitioned for permission to have the chapel, so long as it did not trench upon the claims of the parish church, within some three years of Lady Clare's death.

ERRATA

p. 18, line 24, for $y_e \dots y_e$ read $y^e \dots y^e$
 p. 72, line 21, for y^e read y^e .
 .. footnote, for 'present' read present.
 p. 90, line 8, for . . . read . . .
 p. 153, line 24, for *Middleton* read *Midleton*.
 p. 158, line 26, for *S'* read *St*.
 p. 172, footnote, for ' read ".
 p. 206, line 31, for *at the end of 1855* read *upon January 4, 1856*.
 p. 215, line 29, for *Broderick, Hon. Alan, (Lord Middleton)*, read
Brodrich, Hon. Alan, (Lord Midleton).
 p. 217, line 1, for *Stevenson* read *Stephenson*.

INDEX

NAMES OF FORMER MEMBERS, AND BENEFACTORS, OF THE COLLEGE.

ALDRICH, Francis, 56
Alston, Charles, 148
Anlebye, Edinund, 47
Atcher, William, 47, 49
Aspin, — 75, 77
Aylmer, Theophilus, 101

BADEW, Richard de, 1-3
Bargrave, Isaac, 57
Barker, Edward, 47, 49
Barker, William, 51
Barnard, Francis, 152
Barrow, Henry, 51
Batemane, John, 14
Bayly, Thomas, 30, 43, 47-50, 52
Beillers, John, 23
Bernes, Ralph, 16
Berridge, John, 168
Bettenson, Sir Edward, 91
Bingham, William, 16, 18, 19, 187
Blythe, Samuel, 74, 78, 79, 87, 88, 91,
134, 136, 137, 141, 143, 144, 147,
148, 150, 174, 181
Borage, John, 125
Bosset, Mrs. de, 209
Bouchery, Gilbert, 157, 164, 200
Bowers, George Hall, 206
Bowman, Robert, 115, 116
Boys, John, 87
Broderick, Hon. Alan (Lord Middle-
ton), 158
Brodrick, Hon. Charles, 164
Brome, Viscount (Marquis Corn-
wallis), 161
Brunne, Nicholas de, 148
Buckner, John, 160
Burder, Samuel, 201
Burgh, Lady de. See Lady Clare

Burnet, Thomas, 133
Butler, William, 91, 104-109, 129,
131
Byng, Edward, 113-115
Byng, Thomas, 30, 54, 55, 98
Byng, Robert, 101

CAPEL, Arthur, 108
Cardell, — 76
Carlyell, Christopher, 47, 49, 51
Carr, Samuel, 160
Carter, George, 113, 115
Carter, John, 101
Carter, Nicolas, 91
Cartwright, Thomas, 51
Caumonte, — 60
Cave, Thomas, 100
Cavendish, William, 58
Cecil, Thomas (first Earl of Exeter),
99, 128
Cecil, David (Earl of Exeter), 128
Chapman, Thomas, 49
Chateresse, John de, 12, 16, 19
Cherry, Benjamin, 206
Clare, Lady Elizabeth de, 1-5, 11,
13, 20, 83, 100, 166, 188, 199
Clarke, Edward, 81, 88
Clarkson, David, 113-119
Clerke, William, 51
Cole, William, 157
Coles, Thomas Henry, 91, 208, 209
Collet, — 67
Cootes, Robert, 47, 49
Cope, Richard, 160
Cornwallis, Hon. Charles, 153
Corrie, Daniel, 201
Courtall, John, 157, 164
Cowper, Isaac, 157

Crayford, John, 30, 31, 37, 39, 169,
 173
 Cropley, Thomas, 57
 Cudworth, Ralph, 98, 112, 113

 Diggons, Joseph, 117, 121
 Dillingham, Theophilus, 68, 72, 74,
 98, 113, 116, 121, 124, 132-135
 Dodd, William, 160
 Donewich, John de, 12, 14-16, 19, 84
 Downing, Sir George, 148

 Ednam, John, 28
 Ellys, Anthony, 152, 154

 Fabian, Thomas, 113, 115
 Ferrar, Nicholas, 101-104, 109
 Folkes, Martin, 151, 154
 Fowler, Isaac, 113, 115
 Freeman, John, 109

 Gibson, John, 159
 Goddard, Peter Stephen, 60, 89, 134-
 138, 139, 150, 152, 154, 156, 162-
 164, 185, 198, 201
 Gould, Theodore Vincent, 202
 Grame, Rouland, 101
 Greaves, William, 152
 Greene, Robert (the poet), 57
 Greene, Robert, 95, 150, 155, 156
 Grigg, William, 134, 148, 150, 153,
 155, 175, 177
 Gull, William, 12, 22, 24, 59
 Gunning, Peter, 86, 88, 105, 113-116,
 122, 127-130, 181

 Halsey, James, 101
 Hanson, William Henry, 206
 Hargrave, James, 152
 Haraston, John de, 11
 Haynton, Michael de, 12
 Hayward, John, 196
 Heath, Nicholas, 52
 Heaver, John, 113-116, 122, 132
 Heuchman, Humphrey, 101, 105
 Henchman, Thomas, 76
 Henry VI, 18, 22
 Herne, Robert, 76, 80, 137
 Herring, William, 157
 Hervey, Hon. John, 153
 Heskyns, Thomas, 47, 49, 51, 52
 Hickman, John, 113-115
 Human, John, 206
 Hobart, Sir John, 153
 Holcroft, Francis, 115-120

 Holcroft, Henry, 118-119, 118
 Hopper, John, 47, 49
 Hornby, Henry, 36, 38
 Hort, Josiah, 151
 Howard, Charles, 160
 Hurte, John, 19

 IBBOTT, Benjamin, 150

 JACKSON, James, 123
 Jeffreye, Thomas, 49
 Jennings, John, 143, 144
 Johnson, Robert, 101
 Joliffe, Henry, 36
 Jonson, John, 47

 KERDINGTON, Ralph, 9, 12, 14, 22,
 169

 Lakes, William, 101, 102
 Langhorne, John, 162
 Langley, Thomas, 150
 Latimer, Hugh, 29, 32, 35, 42, 52
 Laughton, Richard, 76, 137-143,
 148, 150, 156, 164, 182
 Laurence, John, 143, 148
 Lench, Robert, 101
 Leeds, Edward, 30, 50-54, 105, 190
 Lincoln, Earl of, 160, 162
 Lindsell, Augustine, 101, 103, 109
 Lindsell, Samuel, 101
 Loddington, Francis William, 205
 Lofthouse, Christopher, 28
 Love, Richard, 108, 122, 125-127

 MADEW, John, 30, 43
 Mansfield, Charles Blachford, 206
 Mapleton, Josia, 101
 Marshall, William, 101
 Maseres, Francis, 161, 162
 Mason, John, 147
 Maysent, Richard, 16
 Metcalfe, Alexander, 149, 150
 Millington, John, 12, 24-27
 Millington, William, 25-27
 Mitford, William, 101
 Moore, John, 134, 139, 148, 148-147,
 154, 181
 Morden, Richard de, 14
 Morgan, Charles, 76, 96, 134, 163,
 154, 155
 Motelote, Henry, 14

 NATURES, Edm. ed., 30, 31-34-37, 60
 Naylor, Charles, 152
 Newce, —, 116

Newman, —, 116, 116
 Newton, —, 76
 •
 CLEY, Barnabas, 64, 67, 68, 93, 105,
 109, 113, 115, 117, 122, 128-132,
 134, 135
 Orttgier, —, 28
 PALMER, —, 113, 114, 115
 Parker; George (Earl of Macclesfield),
 163
 Parkhurst, John, 160
 Parkinson, Thomas, 101
 Paske, Thomas, 92, 98, 105, 108, 109,
 113, 124, 125, 133
 Paske, Thomas, LL.D., 148
 Paske, William, 114, 115
 Pelham, Hon. George, 201
 Pelham, Hon. Thomas (Duke of
 Newcastle), 152, 163
 Pelham, Thomas, 160
 Pendoke, —, 113, 115
 Philpot, Thomas, 138
 Pitt, Thomas (Lord Camelford), 160
 Plumptre, Charles, 157
 Potter, Simon, 113, 115, 122
 Power, Alfred, 206
 Power, Joseph, 91, 206
 Preist, Whadeoke, 76
 Prideaux, Edmund, 60, 86, 94, 129
 Prideaux, Humphrey, 86, 120
 Pulley, Thomas, 42, 47
 Pyke, Thomas, 149
 RADWINTER, William, 12, 19
 Ramsden, Freechville, 157
 Richardson, Sir Thomas, 58
 Ridley, Lancelot, 36
 Ruggle, George, 57, 93-97, 101, 102,
 109, 114, 196
 Ryalton, Lord, 153
 Ryder, Nathaniel (Lord Harrowby),
 160
 SCOTT, Robert, 86, 98, 101, 104
 Scrivener, Ralph, 101
 Seaton, Thomas, 161
 Sharpe, Thomas, 115
 Silvester, Gabriel, 12, 29, 30
 Smith, William, 29
 Sombero, Henry, 23
 Spalding, Robert, 14, 15
 Speer, William, 38, 43, 60, 85
 Stevenson, Mark Antony, 206
 Stockwood, William, 152
 Stoyll, Thomas, 12, 26-28, 60
 Stubbere, Robert, 26
 Stubbs, Richard, 12, 28
 Sutton, William, 28
 Swynburne, Rowland, 30, 39, 40, 42-
 48, 85, 174
 TEMPLE, Henry (Lord Palmerston),
 161
 Terrick, Richard, 90, 91, 156, 162
 Thaxted, Walter de, 2, 3
 Thompson, Richard, 58
 Thompson, Robert, 47, 49
 Tillotson, John, 68, 69, 71, 112, 114-
 121, 128, 181, 186
 Torkington, John, 198, 199, 201
 Townshend, Hon. Charles, 160, 161
 Townshend, Hon. Thomas, 137
 Townshend, Thomas (Lord Sydney),
 160
 VINCENT, Nathaniel, 85, 122, 134-
 136, 182
 WACE, John, 20
 Waddilove, Robert Darley, 160
 Walpole, Thomas, 16
 Ward, Edward, 88
 Watts, George, 152
 Webb, William, 83, 138, 201, 204-
 207
 Wells, John, 52
 Wheelock, Abraham, 109, 126
 Wheler, John, 160
 Whiston, William, 75, 76, 97, 137-
 139, 141, 142, 176, 180
 Whitehead, William, 148, 161
 Wilcox, John, 89, 91, 134, 158, 159,
 162
 Wilflet, William, 12, 22-24, 26, 27,
 59, 169
 Wilkinson, Matthew, 206
 Wilson, Daniel, 143
 Wilson, John, 156
 Wilson, Thomas, 113, 116
 Winston, Thomas, 101, 102
 Woderove, William, 30, 31
 Woodrooffe, — 90
 Worlyche, Elizabeth, 44, 98
 Worlyche, Walter, 39, 44
 Wymbyll, William, 12, 19, 59

NAMES OF PLACES CONNECTED WITH THE COLLEGE.

BORDEN's hostel, 14, 22, 168-170	LITLINGTON, 3, 4, 27, 202
Braintree, 200	MYLNE Street, 1
Butt close, 61, 62, 64, 202, 208	NEWNHAM, 36
CALDECOT, 35	RISBY, 100
Chalsterne, 41	Romney Marsh, 200
DUXFORD, 4, 27, 28, 161	ST. EDWARD's Church, Cambridge, 18, 26, 34, 83, 87
ELTHAM, 136	Sidecup, 136
Everton, 39, 44, 130, 153, 158	TETNEY, 100
FORNHAM All Saints, 174, 202	UNIVERSITY Hall, 1-5
GAMLINGAY, 45	WARE, 199
God's House, 16-19, 187	Warmfield, 130
Gransden, Great, 4, 14, 27, 130	Westley, 174, 202
Gransden, Little, 130	Wrawby, 4
HOSPITAL of St. John and Mary Magdalene, Ely, 53, 190	
ICKLETON, 156	
Icklyngton, 24	

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